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**DEVELOPMENT
OF
MUSLIM RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
IN INDIA**

from 1200 A. D. to 1450 A. D.

MOHAMMAD NOOR NABI

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Muslim University, Aligarh (India)

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WITH A FOREWORD

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To
My Teacher
Professor M. Umaruddin

Recd. from Mr. M. Umaruddin, D.D. 14/11/1913



FOREWORD

A systematic study of the development of Muslim Thought in India was long overdue. A few scholars who devoted themselves to this problem tackled it in its purely historical aspect. The philosophical aspect remained unexplored. The writers on Muslim philosophy considered it as falling outside their scope. The commentators of Indian philosophy had no access to it. It has, therefore, been a virgin field hitherto; and I welcome the present study.

The Department of Philosophy and Psychology submitted a scheme of research on the subject to the University Grants Commission some-time ago. Dr. Zakir Husain, who was then the Vice-Chancellor, approved the scheme and secured the sanction of the University Grants Commission. But, owing to an oversight on the part of the University office, the scheme did not materialize. The proposed scheme was quite comprehensive. It was to cover the whole period from the advent of *Islām* in India to the present day. The period was divided into six units and it was intended to have one volume on each period. The division of the period was as follows:—

1. From the advent of *Islām* in India to 1200 A.D.
2. From 1200 A.D. to 1450 A.D.
3. From 1450 A.D. to 1600 A.D.
4. From 1600 A.D. to 1707 A.D.
5. From 1707 A.D. to 1857 A.D.
6. From 1857 A.D. to the present times.

The present volume deals with the philosophical thought of the second period of the aforesaid scheme, i.e., from 1200 A.D. to 1450 A.D. It was originally submitted by its author as a doctoral thesis which was duly accepted by the University for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1958. It is now being published by the Faculty of Arts.

The author has divided this volume into two sections : The first section covers the period from 1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D. and deals with the thoughts of such eminent writers as Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣāfi, Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Shaikh

Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar and Shaiikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. It also seeks to compare the thoughts of those great men with those of Al-Ghazzālī and other thinkers of early *Islām*. The characteristic feature of their thoughts as brought out by the author, is that they exalt the *Ṭarīqat* over the *Sharī'at*.

The second section covers the period from 1326 A.D. to 1450 A.D. It neatly formulates and critically examines the thoughts of Shaiikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī and Shaiikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī. It also compares the views of the former with those of Ibn Taimīyya, Shaiikh Shahāb-u'd-dīn and Ibn-al-'Arabī. It also marks out the innovations which crept into *Islām* during that period. The author has succeeded in pointing out the main features of this period. He has established on good evidence that the thinkers of this period, unlike their predecessors of the first period, lay great emphasis on the *Sharī'at* instead of the *Ṭarīqat*. In conclusion the author has come to the view that the Muslim thinkers preached the theistic form of mysticism instead of its pantheistic or monistic forms. In an appendix to his work he has produced representative apocryphal sayings of the great sufis, and has pointed out the fabricated nature of many a book that claim to incorporate their genuine sayings.

The work is a valuable contribution to the history of Islamic thought. It is a clear and fine presentation of ideas of the eminent Muslim saints of an important period of Indian History. Being the first serious approach to the subject, it deserves consideration. Dr. Mohd. Noor Nabi is well acquainted with Persian language and literature and has consulted the material (mostly in Persian) available on the subject.

I am happy that the Faculty of Arts is publishing this valuable work. I hope that Dr. Mohd. Noor Nabi will continue his research in this field and will bring out many volumes on other periods of Muslim thought in India as well.

I commend the book.

Muslim University,
Aligarh

M. Hameedullah

PREFACE

The importance of the study of the history of Indian Muslim Thought during the period, 1200 A.D.—1450 A.D., can not be over-emphasized. During this period the well-known mystic orders (*Silsilas*) of *Chishtī*, *Suhrawardī* and *Firdausī* had flourishing growth and development in India. The saints belonging to these orders led a life of purity, abstinence and renunciation and preached the doctrines of universal love, brotherhood and tolerance. Thus through their precept and example they provided spiritual enlightenment to the Indian people.

These saints of various orders do not only have historical importance but continue to be a living source of spiritual guidance to contemporary Indian mind. The monasteries (*khānqāh*) they established and the sub-orders that sprang up all over the country still form part and parcel of the present Muslim Religious life, serving unobtrusively as a vital link between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. As in the medieval period, when Muslims and non-Muslims were drawn to these saints and divines, so today people in their hundreds and thousands keep on paying homage to them at their shrines. The traditional annual congregation (*‘Urs*) at the shrines of *Khawājah Mu‘in-u’d-dīn Chishtī* at Ajmer and *Shaiikh Nizām-u’d-dīn Auliya* at Delhi furnish an eloquent testimony to the abiding love of our people for these saints.

Yet, strangely enough, a philosophical study of Muslim mystical thought in India has been hitherto neglected. The Western historians of Muslim Philosophy did not take interest in this study. The Eastern writers on the subject too showed little concern for the study of this important aspect of the Indian heritage. In view of these facts it is hoped that the present study would be regarded as an attempt to appraise the philosophico-religious thought of Indian Islamic thinkers during the said period.

It is my foremost duty to acknowledge my deep debt of gratitude to my respected teacher, Professor M. ‘Umaruddīn, whose erudition has been a constant source of strength to me. I undertook the present study at his behest, and I could not have finished it in its present form without his kind patronage and support that I received from him.

I must also pay my homage to the loving memory of my father, Hāji Shāikh Muḥammad Ḥanīf Sāḥeb, whose great respect for mysticism and high regard for piety is the noblest legacy that I inherited from him. It was his life and character that aroused my interest in mysticism and inspired me to undertake this work.

I have also especially to thank some of my senior colleagues in the faculty. Mr. Khalīq A. Niẓāmī of the Department of History was kind enough to allow me the use of some of the rare manuscripts in his personal library. I had some very fruitful discussions with him that contributed a great deal to a careful sifting of historical material available on the subject. Mr. Zafar Aḥmad Ṣiddiqī of the Department of Philosophy and Psychology helped me through all stages of my study and some obscure points were made clear to me through a discussion with him. Mr. Zainul 'Ābedīn of the Department of English was very kind to go through the manuscript and his suggestions were of great value to me.

I am also indebted to the authorities of the Aligarh Muslim University and the Faculty of Arts for their generous financial grant for the publication of this book.

My thanks are also due to Mr. Bantu Ram, Manager, Muslim University Press, for his efficient supervision of the printing of the book.

M. N. N.

March 5, 1962
Department of Philosophy
and Psychology,
Muslim University, Aligarh.

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INTRODUCTION

Background of Muslim Religious Thought in India

Muslim Religious Thought passed through different phases before entering the Indian soil. Prophet Muḥammad preached monotheism. He embodied his revelations in the *Qur'ān*. It was the *Qur'ān* which served as the basis of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, Ethics etc. The doings and the sayings of Prophet Muḥammad being in conformity with the *Qur'ān* furnished necessary light for the elucidation and interpretation of the verses of the *Qur'ān*. Belief in the unity of God and apostleship of Muḥammad, observance of prayer, fasting during the month of *Ramaḍān*, the payment of the holy tax (*Zakāt*) and pilgrimage to Mecca were the fundamental tenets of *Islām*. The Prophet further emphasized the universal brotherhood or unity and equality of all mankind and declared all distinctions of caste, colour or race as null and void. He preached the doctrine of human responsibility and held that every man will have to give an account of his actions on the day of judgment, when the virtuous will be rewarded and the vicious punished.

Upto the lifetime of the Prophet religion remained simple¹. His instructions were obeyed by his followers without questioning. There did not arise any controversies because whenever the Muslims faced any difficulties they referred them to the Prophet and he solved them. But soon after his death differences arose.

During the early period of *Islām* the Believers were of one mind in their interpretation of the *Qur'ān*. They emphasized the observance of the religious injunctions and abstained from indulging in discussions and controversies about them. But this state of affairs could not continue for long². The most important cause of it was the wave of conquest that carried *Islām* within a century to Samarqand beyond the Oxus, and to Tours in Central France³. People belonging to different nationalities, races and religions adopted *Islām*. The converts tried to interpret the *Qur'ān* according to their own traditional beliefs and customs. Consequently differences arose, resulting in discords and dissensions in the united camp of the Muslims. The main problems which agitated the Muslim mind, and which ultimately brought about

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so many schools of Thought were the 'problem of Freedom and Determinism', 'Relation of Reason with Revelation', 'Relation of action with beliefs' and 'Attributes of God'.

The first school of Muslim Thought which discussed all these problems systematically was that of the '*Mu'tazilites*'. Before *Mu'tazilites* philosophical thinking was mainly concentrated on the problem of the freedom of will. Some supported 'Free Will' and others upheld 'Fatalism'. 'Fatalism' took God as the Absolute Monarch and considered human beings only a tool in the hands of the Divine Being. On the contrary, the supporters of 'Free Will' believed in the absolute liberty of action for man, holding that 'God' has endowed man with powers and capacities and man is free to use or abuse them at his sweet will'.

In the course of time, 'Fatalism' merged into 'Attributism' which accepted the principle of compulsion of human action but ascribed certain attributes and qualities to God as distinct from His Essence, such as knowledge, Power, Glory, Greatness etc. This school of 'Attributism', in course of time, was identified with the Resemblists who presented the anthropomorphic conception of God. The followers of the school of '*Qadr*' (free will) continued to flourish and subsequently came to be known as '*Mu'tazilites*'.⁴

'*Mu'tazilites*' came into existence partly as a reaction to the misdeeds of the Omeyyad kings and partly as an attempt to meet the arguments of the Greek and non-Muslim scholars against *Islām*. They were primarily rationalists. They preached the unity of God and to safeguard this unity they denied the attributes of God as separate from His Essence. They maintained that attributes were nothing but the essence of God. They denied the vision of God and the eternity of the *Qur'ān* on the basis of their rationalism. They made reason, the absolute criterion of truth and for distinguishing between 'good' and 'bad'. Absolute freedom of action for man was affirmed and the Divine attribute of justice was emphasized.

Mu'tazilites were, no doubt, inspired by a desire to defend and understand *Islām* on the basis of reason. They were masters of the science of reason and argumentation. But they overdid the job and their rationalism began to make people sceptic and indifferent to religion. It even led to a denial or distortion of religious doctrines.⁵

To safeguard religion against the attacks of the *Mu'tazilites*, eminent personalities, such as Abul Ḥasan al Aḥa'arī in Mesopotamia (d. 932 A.D.), Abū Maṣṣūr al-Māturīdī (d. 934 A.D.) in Samarqand and Abū Ḥazm (d. 1064 A.D.) in Spain arose in this period. Each one

of them greatly influenced the development of Muslim Thought and formed his own powerful system of Theology. But ultimately the system of Al-Ash'arī dominated over all other systems⁶.

Ash'arites, like *Mu'tazilites* upheld the unity of God but affirmed His attributes side by side with His essence. They, unlike the *Mu'tazilites*, accepted the vision of God and declared it to be the *Summum Bonum*. They did not undermine the importance of reason but made it subservient to revelation (*Waḥy*). Revelation, they stated, is the real criterion of truth and the business of 'Reason' is to substantiate the religious tenets and injunctions by its arguments. To safeguard the sovereignty of God, they took away the freedom of human being and preached the determined freedom⁷.

In the meantime, development in the field of jurisprudence continued apace. The renowned jurists of *Islām*, Abū Ḥanīfah (d. 767 A.D.), Mālik Ibn Anas (d. 796 A.D.), Aḥ-Shāfi'ī (d. 820, A.D.) and Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855 A.D.) founded their own schools of Islāmic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) which were known as *Ḥanafī*, *Mālikī*, *Shāfi'ī* and *Ḥanbalī* schools. All of them took the *Qur'ān* and the traditions as the original sources of Muslim jurisprudence. Abū Ḥanīfah permitted the use of speculation (*Rā'y*) in the interpretation of the traditions; but Mālik ibn Anas strongly disapproved of this tendency. Aḥ-Shāfi'ī, a disciple of Mālik, laid the foundation of an exact juristic science based on critical examination of *Ḥadīth* (Tradition). To these principles he added a third in the form of analogical deduction (*Qiyās*). But Aḥmad bin Ḥanbal, a strong traditionalist, vehemently opposed the innovations and speculative tendency of the above mentioned schools⁸.

Since the formal doctrines and definitions of these schools remained substantially unchanged through all the later centuries, the door of the development in this direction was closed for ever.

With the development of Greek sciences during the reign of the *Abbasides*, many Muslim Philosophers such as Kindī (d. 873 A.D.), Fārābī (d. 950 A.D.), the Brethren of purity (*Ikhwān as-Safā*), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1036 A.D.), Ibn Maskawaih (d. 1030 A.D.) in the East and Ibn Baddja (d. 1138 A.D.), Ibn Ṭufail (d. 1185 A.D.) and Ibn Rushd (d. 1198 A.D.) of Spain propounded their own philosophical systems. All of them were greatly influenced by Greek Philosophy. Many of them, following Plotinus put forward the Emanation Theory of Creation. Like *Mu'tazilites* they too made reason the absolute criterion for good and bad and true knowledge. They tried their best to establish harmony between religion and philosophy. Some of them crossed the boundary of *Islām* and preached the theories which were foreign to it⁹.

Thus, as a reaction against the formalism advocated by the jurists and Theologians, and as a protest against the philosophical doctrines saturated in Greek Thought and heresies mysticism took a new form, i.e., it became institutional.

The essence of mysticism was not foreign to *Islām*. Its seed was sown during the lifetime of Prophet Muḥammad, when a group of people known as '*Ahl-as-ṣuffā*' were leading a life of devotion and piety, withdrawn from worldly cares and anxieties. The saints of this period laid great stress on the principle of trust in God (*Tawakkul*). They were, however, inspired by *Qur'ānic* conception of a transcendent God. By the end of the second century of *Hijra*, Sufism had become a monotheistic theosophy, of which fear of God and concern for the day of judgment became the chief characteristics. But the love of God was not wholly absent. Rābi'ah, the mystic (d. 776 A.D.) and Dhun-Nūn Miṣrī (d. 859 A.D.) propounded the doctrine of 'love' in mysticism. During the '*Abbasid* regime mysticism assumed the form of a regular movement. The celebrated Persian mystic, Bāyazīd of Bisṭām (d. 876 A.D.), played an important role in the development of Sufism. He introduced the doctrine of ecstasy and the mystic doctrine of the immanence of God which implied that 'all is in God' or 'God is in all things', and not that 'all is God', as is sometimes erroneously believed. For the first time in Islāmic mysticism, he employed the word 'the annihilation of the self' (*fanā*), which later became the basis of *Ṣūfī* theosophy.

Ibn Maṣ'ūr-al-Ḥallāj (d. 921 A.D.), a disciple of Junayd of Baghdād (d. 900 A.D.), carried further the development of the doctrines of Bāyazīd. His mystical formula, 'I am God' (*Anal Ḥaqq*) served as the inspiration and basis for the writings of Ibn-al-'Arabī and 'Abdul Karīm Jīlī, in their treatment of the nature of 'The Perfect man' (*Insān al-Kāmil*) during later centuries.

These mystical doctrines of Bayazīd and Ḥallāj made sufism objectionable in the eyes of Orthodox theologians. Many innovations crept into the tenets of *Islām*. The so-called ṣūfis brought about a cleavage between *Sharī'at* and *Tarīqat*. However later on, Junayd of Baghdād, Al-Ghazzālī (1058-1111 A.D.), *Shaiikh* 'Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (1077-1166 A.D.) and *Shaiikh* Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī (1145-1234 A.D.) not only reconciled the divergent tendencies of Islāmic mysticism but also won recognition for a sober sufism among the representatives of Orthodox theology and religious law¹⁰.

Imām al-Ghazzālī made a notable contribution in the field of mysticism. He, for the first time, based mysticism on a theory of

knowledge and analysis of human nature. He divided knowledge into two kinds. '*Ilm-u'l-Mu'āmalah*' and '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*'. '*Ilm-u'l-Mu'āmalah*' was again divided into two kinds; '*Ādāt*' (man's relation to man) and '*Ṭbādāt*' (Man's relation to God). He categorically affirmed that without '*Ilm-u'l-Mu'āmalah*' one can not attain '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*', '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*' of Al-Ghazzālī is synonymous with intuition. He further held that '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*' is a matter of Divine Grace. It is based on the purification of heart from all human infirmities¹¹.

'*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*' was made the basis of 'love of God'. Love of God was upheld by Ghazzālī on rational grounds. It was declared as the supreme end of man in this world¹². He justified the vision of God and held that it is the *Summum Bonum* which will become possible in the life hereafter¹³. The nature and characteristics of the soul were elaborately discussed by him¹⁴. He accepted a mid-way position between freedom and determinism and preached the doctrine of determined freedom¹⁵.

In India the development of 'Muslim Religious Thought' in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries took place on the lines chalked out by Imām al-Ghazzālī and Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī. The outstanding contributions of Al-Ghazzālī and Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī viz, '*Ṭayyā-u'l-'ulūm-u'd-dīn*' and the '*Kemiyā-i-sa'ādāt*' of the former and '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' of the latter were very popular among the Indian Muslim mystics.

The Object of the Present Study

The present study is an attempt to trace the development of Muslim Religious Thought in India from 13th century to middle of the fifteenth century. In these pages I have used 'Religious Thought' in a very comprehensive sense. It includes all the fundamental concepts about God, man and the universe. Thus the nature of God, the position of man, the nature of the universe, the relation of man to man, the relation of man to God and the relation of man to the universe, all these questions come under the scope of this study. However, for the sake of systematization, precision and brevity, the present study has been confined to the following problems:—

- (i) Conception of God; (ii) Knowledge of God; (iii) Love of God;
- (iv) Vision of God; (v) Nature of soul and (vi) Relation of man with the universe.

The whole period covering two centuries and a half has been divided into two sections; The first section covers the time from

1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D. In connection with this period significant facts about the life and thought of eminent personalities as Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar and Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā have been discussed.

The second section covers the period from 1326 A.D. to 1450 A.D. This section deals with the life and thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehlī and Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī. The views of all these mystic philosophers and thinkers have been explained and presented in the frame work of the above mentioned problems.¹⁶ To trace the development of Muslim Religious Thought in India from 13th century onward it is but essential to examine the status of the Muslims in this land.

Advent of Muslims in India

Muḥammad bin Qāsim conquered Sindh in the eighth century and henceforth Muslim influence grew incessantly.¹⁷ In the same century Muslims landed on the Western coast as traders and in the tenth century they settled on the Eastern coast and acquired great influence both in politics and in social life.¹⁸ In 1050 A.D., under the leadership of Malik-u'l-Mā'ūk, the *Musalmāns* made their entrance in Madurā.¹⁹ In eleventh century Maḥmād, the king of Ghazna carried on his incursions in Indian territory²⁰ and returned back with enormous wealth.²¹ After his death his son, Abu Sa'yyed Mas'ūd invaded India in 1032-33 A.D. and conquered the fort of Sarsatī situated in Kashmīr.²² In 1035-36 A.D. he again captured the forts of Hansi, Sonīput and Lahore. He appointed his brother, Amīr Abul Muḥammad as the governor of Lahore.²³ Khusro Malik bin Khusro Shāh was the first king of Ghaznī dynasty who was enthroned in Lahore instead of Ghazna. He reigned for twentyeight years.²⁴ But in 1180-81 A. D., Sulṭān Mo'iz-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Ghorī captured Lahore and put an end to Ghaznī dynasty.²⁵ He invaded India and conquered the states of Multān, Gujrat, Lahore, Ajmer, Delhi, Qannauj, Gwalyar, Badāun etc.²⁶ Delhi was made the state capital in 1193-94. A.D.²⁷ After the death of Sulṭān Mo'iz-u'd-dīn, Quṭb-u'd-dīn, a slave of the Sulṭān, became the king of Hindustan and founded the 'Slave dynasty'.

In short from 13th century A.D. upto the middle of the 15th century A.D. four dynasties, the Slaves (1206 A.D.-1290 A.D.), the Khiljis (1290 A.D.-1320 A.D.), the Tughlaq (1320-1413 A.D.)

and the Sayyids (1413-1451 A.D.) ruled in India.

Muslim saints and scholars too came to India from foreign countries. Abu Hifs Rabi bin Sahib al-Asadī al Baṣarī, a traditionist and an ascetic came to Sindh where he died in 776-77 A.D. Maṣṣūr al Ḥallāj made a voyage to India by sea in the tenth century. Bābā Rihān with a company of *durveishes* came to Broach from Baghdād in the eleventh century.

About the same time (1067 A.D.) the religious head of the *Shī'ah* trading community of *Bohras* settled in Gujrāt from Yemen and Nur al dīn (1094-1143 A.D.) converted the *kumbis*, *khārṣās* and *Koris* of Gujrāt.²⁸ Numerous eminent Muslim scholars and saints came to India after the invasion of Maḥmād. Among them 'Alī bin Uthmān al Ḥujwirī and *Shaikh* Ismā'īl Bukhārī, early in the eleventh century, and Farīd-u'd-dīn 'Aṭṭār, the celebrated author of *Maniqut Tair* and *Tadhkirat-u'l-Auliya*, in the twelfth century, are worthy to be mentioned.

'Alī Ḥujwirī was a native of Ghazna. After travelling extensively over Muslim lands he came to reside in Lāhore where he died in 1072-73 A.D. or 1076 A.D.²⁹ His famous book *Kaḥf-al-Mahjūb* was very popular among the Muslim scholars of 13th and 14th centuries. Dr. Iqbāl has said about him, "The Chief saint of Hujwir, whose aspiration was as high as the heaven, his tomb was just like the *Ka'abah* to the saint of Sanjar (*Khwājah Mu'in-u'd-dīn Ajmerī*)"²⁹A.

Thus, no doubt a few Muslim saints and scholars came to India before the 13th century but the systematic missionary work of preaching *Islām* could not be started before the foundations of a Muslim empire were laid.

Political, Social and Religious Conditions of the 13th Century

The 13th century is one of the most critical periods in the annals of *Islām*. On the one hand, it saw the growth of Muslim civilization, culture and religion in India, and on the other, it faced the decay of Muslim power and civilization in central Asia and Spain.

This century also saw the challenge of Christianity to *Islām*. The challenge came from the West, particularly in the shape of Crusades. It started in 1096 A.D. and formally came to an end in 1291 A.D.³⁰ The proclaimed aim of these wars was to wrest the Holy lands from the hand of the Muslims but the history of the Crusades proves that Christian Europe was determined to wipe out *Islām* from the face of the earth. Though the Crusades could not succeed in this cherished end yet the Muslims were exterminated from Spain after the most

ferocious and merciless persecution the World has ever known.

Muslim Spain, the land of learning, civilization, libraries, universities, the source of Renaissance and reformation was reduced to ruins. The untold devastation in Spain may be visualised by a typical letter written to the Pope by the Crusaders after one of their victories in Palestine.

"God was appeased by our humility, and on the eighth day of our humiliation He delivered the city and its enemies to us. And if you desire to know what was done with the enemy who were found there, know that in Salomon's porch and its temple our men rode in the blood of Saracens upto the knees of their horses³¹".

"Even according to Christian historians, there was no greater tragedy in the history of Europe than the extinction of the Muslim civilization in Spain, which had contributed so much to the renaissance of Europe".³²

The Crusaders were not the only foes that the Muslim world had to face, but there were also the Mongols. The Mongols shattered into pieces the majestic empire of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Muḥammad Kheorizam.

The empire of 'Alā-u'd-dīn extended from the Ural mountains to the Persian Gulf, from the Indus to the Euphrates, and included nearly the whole of Persia except a couple of provinces.³³ It included the countries now known as Afghānistān, Baluchistān, Persia (except some of the north western parts) and Turkistān.³⁴ The Mongol chief, Chingiz Khān, enraged at the murder of his envoy, Bughrā in the town of Utrar, invaded the town in the beginning of the 13th century; and within ten years the Sultanate was reduced to dust. 'Alā-u'd-dīn lost his life in 1227 A.D. and after his death his son Jalāl-u'd-dīn continued the war though he lost his empire. But Jalāl-u'd-dīn was also killed by the treachery of a Kurdish tribesman in 1231 A.D. After the death of Chingiz Khān, his grandson Halāgu Khān was appointed as the governor of Persia in 1251 A.D. He overthrew Baghdād, the traditional seat of Islāmic learning in a week's time. Thus the caliphate, which had existed for more than six centuries, became extinct all of a sudden. Muslim civilization has never recovered from the devastation wrought by the Mongols. Not only were thousands of books utterly destroyed, but innumerable scholars and men of learning also perished. Thus the very tradition of accurate scholarship and original research was almost destroyed.³⁵

S'adī's elegy on the sack of Baghdād has become a classic in Persian literature. Here is a couplet which gives an idea of the horrors of the terrible catastrophe.

'It is meet that Heaven should rain tears of blood on earth
 At the destruction that has befallen
 The empire of Musta'sim, commander of the Faithful.
 O Muḥammad! if on the Day of judgment you will raise your head
 above the earth,
 Raise your head and see the tribulations of the people now."³⁶

Thus, in the world of strifes and conflicts India served as an asylum for the persecuted, restless and bereaved Muslims. A large number of Muslim scholars, saints, princes and philosophers came to India to take refuge in safer climes. Delhi started from the point where Baghdād and Bukhārā had left. These Muslim scholars enhanced the glory of Delhi and during the 'Alai regime India could boast of having scholars equal in rank to Ghazzālī and Rāzī.³⁷ Scholars came to India from foreign lands to consult them in important religious matters.³⁸ 'Isāmī says;

"Whenever the muftis of Bukhārā and Samargand find themselves face to face with any difficulty or trouble, they seek *fatwa* from the people of this city."³⁹

During the period 1200 A. D. to 1450 A. D., three mystic orders, i. e., *Chishtī*, *Suhrwardī* and *Firdosī* flourished in India. These orders represented the Muslim Religious Thought of that period. The followers of these orders were found not only among the mystics but also among the Theologians. Mysticism and Theology were blended together in India after the examples of Al-Ghazzālī and Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī.

Suhrwardī order in India was founded by Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyā but it flourished mainly in Sindh and Punjab.

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī founded the *Chishtī* order in India about 1190 A. D. He settled at Ajmer and started the work of preaching and guidance. The soil of India proved quite fertile for this order. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the *Khalīfa* and the successor of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, popularised this order in Delhi and the surrounding areas. Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Shākurganj, the *Khalīfa* and the successor of Quṭb-u'd-dīn further organized it. It, however, reached its zenith when Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, the *Khalīfa* and the successor of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, became its head. Its branches sprang up almost in every corner of the country. But just after the death of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn (d. 1325 A. D.) the policy of Muḥammad bin Tughlaq (1325-1351 A. D.) gave a shattering blow to the central organization of the order, and after the death of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn

Chirāgh-i-Dehli, the hereditary succession of the order came to an end.

Another contemporary mystic, Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī (d. 1380 A. D.) popularised the *Firdosī* order. The activities of the *Firdosī* order remained confined to Bihar.

These mystic orders served as a beacon light for Indians. They preached the doctrines of *Islām* not through precepts and sermons but by their actual examples. The then-existing religious atmosphere of India offered a favourable ground for the growth and development of the orders.

Hindu Religious Thought of the Period

Hinduism at that period, presented a blending of the ritualistic religion of the Vedic age, the humanitarian principles of Buddha, and the Pre-Aryan religious forms and symbols.⁴⁰

With regard to the conception of God, the Hindus believed that He is one, eternal without beginning and end, acting by free will, almighty, all wise, living, giving life, ruling, preserving, unique in His sovereignty, beyond all likeness and unlikeness; and that He does not resemble anything nor does anything resemble Him.⁴¹ They abhorred anthropomorphism of the kind that God has a son or that there is a relation like that of the son and father between the creatures and the creator. But the Hindu masses did not hesitate in speaking about God as having wife, son, and daughter; they also spoke of His rendering pregnant and of His undergoing other physical processes.⁴²

Thus, the masses were steeped in anthropomorphism and polytheism. They reduced God to the status of a human being and ascribed all the human attributes to Him.

With regard to soul, the Hindus maintained that the soul is actual not potential. It is ignorant of its own nature and of its material substratum. It longs to apprehend what it does not know; and believes that it cannot exist without matter. As it longs for the good which is duration and wishes to learn that which is hidden from it, it starts off in order to be united with matter.⁴³ The soul can not obtain the fulfilment of its wish but through similar media, i. e., spirits. Spirits derive their existence from the *matres simplices* in the worlds called *Bhurloka*, *Bhuvarloka* and *Svarloka*. The Hindus called them tenuous bodies over which the soul rises as the sun rises over the earth, in order to distinguish them from the dense bodies which derive their existence from the common five elements. The spirits according to the notions of the Hindus, do not differ from each other in substance,

but have a precisely identical nature. However, their individual characters and manners differ in the same measure as the bodies with which they are united. The bodies differ on account of the three forces which are in them. When these forces strive with each other for supremacy, the harmony of the bodies is disturbed by the passions of envy and wrath and thus, differences arise.⁴⁴

Regarding the whole creation, the Hindus thought that it is a unity. Vasudeva speaks in the book called *Gita*, "To speak accurately, we must say that all things are divine, for *Vishnu* made Himself the earth that the living being should rest there upon; He made Himself water to nourish them thereby; He made Himself fire and wind in order to make them grow; and He made Himself the heart of every single being. He presented them with recollection and knowledge and the two opposite qualities, as is mentioned in the *Veda*."⁴⁵

Thus, we find a complete pantheistic outlook. The same pantheistic tendency in creation has been pointed out by Dr. Tara Chand.⁴⁶

The Hindus called the world '*Loka*'. Its primary division consists of the upper, the lower and the middle regions. The upper one is called *Svarloka*, i.e., Paradise. The lower world is called *Nagloka*, i.e., the world of serpents, which is Hell. It is also called *Naraloka*, and sometimes also *Patala*, i.e., the lowest world. The middle world, the one in which we live, is called *Madhyaloka* and *Manushyaloka*, i.e., the world of men. In the middle world man has to earn; in the upper he receives his reward; in the lower he receives punishment. A man who deserves to come to *Svarloka* or *Nagloka* receives there the full recompense of his deeds during a certain period of time, corresponding to the duration of his deeds; but in both the cases there is only the soul, the soul free from the body. For those who do not deserve to rise to Heaven or to sink as low as Hell there is another world called *Tiryagloka*. *Tiryagloka* is the irrational world of plants and animals. The soul has to wander in the metempsychosis through the individuals of this world until it reaches the human being, rising by degrees from the lowest kinds of vegetable world to the highest classes of sensitive world.⁴⁷

Metempsychosis is the Shibboleth of the Hindu religion. Therefore, he who does not believe in it, does not belong to them, and is not reckoned as one of them.⁴⁸ Thus, we find that Heaven or Hell is not the permanent resort for the virtuous or sinful according to Hindus.

The Summum Bonum, for the Hindus is to attain 'liberation' (*Mukti* or *Moksa*) which is to be one with God.⁴⁹ It is the stoppage of the process of birth and rebirth and is to attain the stage of per-

fection. According to some Indian thinkers, like the Jainas, the Buddhas, the Sankhyas and the Advaita-Vedantins, this state can be attained even in this life.

For the attainment of liberation knowledge is indispensable; because ignorance of reality is the cause of the bondage and sufferings, and liberation from these cannot be achieved without knowledge of reality, i.e., the real nature of the world and the self.⁵⁰ Beside knowledge, there are two other paths, viz, the path of action (*Karma*) and the path of devotion (*Bhakti*) for the attainment of emancipation. But all these three paths are not mutually exclusive and do not necessarily imply antagonism.⁵¹

Knowledge, therefore, according to the Hindus, is the end of the individual. According to *Gita*, "Man is created for the purpose of knowing; and because knowing is always the same, man has been gifted with the same organs. If man were created for the purpose of acting, his organs would be different, as actions are different, in consequence of the difference of the three primary forces."⁵²

Shankaracharya, (788-820 A. D.)⁵³ the great Hindu philosopher laid down the doctrines of '*Advaita*'. His interpretation based on the Pantheistic doctrine, has exercised a profound influence on religious attitude of the Hindus. He interpreted the '*Upanishads*' as teaching the immanence of all cosmic existence, the illusiveness of the phenomenal world and the exclusive reality of the *Brahman*, the primordial, verily the creator and immanent at the same time. He identified the individual soul with that of *Brahman*, the supreme cause of all cosmic existence. He declared the world of senses as unreal and called it with the name of "*Maya*". He defined "*Maya*" as the inseparable and indistinguishable power from *Brahman*.⁵⁴ He spoke of the 'personal God' only for the practical religious consciousness and not for the highest insight.

Dr. Radha Krishnan interpreting the religion of Shankara says, "Religion, in the popular sense, is something to be transcended. It is an imperfect experience, which exists only so long as we fail to rise to the true apprehension of reality. It is destined to be absorbed; for 'when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away'. Shankara quotes passages from the highest religious seers declaring the identity of the soul and *Atman*: 'verily I am thou, O holy God-head and thou art I'. Every philosophy of religion should offer some explanation of such declaration as 'I am Brahman', 'Thou art I', in which the difference between the creature and the creator is transcended, Shankara accounts for it by declaring that religious

consciousness with its distinctions comes to an end when its goal is reached. A 'Personal God', has meaning only for the practical religious consciousness and not for the highest insight."⁵⁵

This movement of Shankaracharya was opposed by Ramanuja in the twelfth century. He made in his turn a commentary on the *Brahmasutras*, refuted Shankara, and offered his own interpretation based on the theistic idea. He systematized the emotional and theistic tendencies of *Bhakti* and determined the philosophy of Vaishnavism. He preached the doctrines of qualified monism (*Visistadvaita*) and established unity of God possessing attributes. Cosmic appearance, for him, was not only false or '*Maya*' but an aspect (*Parakara*) of God. The relation between God and the cosmos appeared to him as that of the light and the object illuminated. He laid a great emphasis on meditation on God which, in his opinion, can be attained by worshipping the images or by the inner concentration called *antaryamin*.⁵⁶

Such was the religious thought of Hindus in the thirteenth century. But the above mentioned views were only confined to the learned, the philosophically minded and the monks.⁵⁷

Those who had neither the time nor the opportunity to cultivate their thought by means of the spiritual practices of meditation and contemplation received dogmas and symbols to worship. The works known under the collective name of '*Tantras*' describe the rites and formulas destined for those who were incapable of appreciating the pantheistic metaphysics of Brahmanism. They believed in symbols and worshipped images.⁵⁸

Thus, the Hindu society comprising the followers of Saivism, Vaishnavism and the cult of *Sakti*, was broadly divided between those worshipped images at home or in the temples, performed prescribed rites and offered sacrifices, and the intellectuals, who had no faith in the path of action (*Karma*). To them attainment of salvation was possible only through the path of knowledge (*Jnana-marga*). They disputed among themselves about the theory of metempsychosis, the law of karma and other metaphysical subtleties which had hardly any relation with the actual ethical behaviour of man. They aimed at improvement of man's status in life and fulfilment of his destiny on earth.⁵⁹

Caste system in Hinduism was sapping its very vitals. The society was divided into various castes which were like water-tight compartments. The lowest caste, *Sudras* was leading a life below the level of the beasts. They were neither given any place in society nor in religion. The doors of temples were closed on them. They were no doubt Hindus, but they were not even allowed to hear the *Vedas*. Even

Ramanuja, in twelfth century could not venture to provide any opportunity for preaching his views to them. The teaching of Ramanuja was strictly confined to the higher classes of Hindu society. The *Sudras* had no access to their order; only the *Brahmans* could be initiated.⁶⁰

Development of Muslim Religious Thought

In the midst of such religious environment, Muslim mystics presented the doctrines of *Islām*. They sought to do away with the distinctions of caste and creed and preached universal brotherhood. Their teachings were open to all, the rich and the poor, the literates and the illiterates, the officials and non-officials.

Almost all the *Chishtī* saints led a life of complete indifference to the courts and camps. The sultans and kings craved audience. They spent all their time in the service of humanity with a singleness of purpose and unity of mind. There was the complete harmony between their conduct and character. The doors of their monasteries (*Khānqāhs*) were thrown open for all, the low and the high, the Hindus and the Muslims, the saints and dervishes (*Qalanders*).

Sitting under thatched roofs, wearing tattered clothes and living in indigent circumstances, they gave to Indians high ideals of life.

As distinguished from the abstract, logical and impersonal God of the followers of the doctrines of *Advaita* and the anthropomorphic Gods of the Hindu masses, they preached the conception of personal and monotheistic God.

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī said, 'Mystic is one who gets things according to his wish and receives the answer of his question from God'.

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī certified the verse, "one who has been killed with the dagger of submission, every moment attains a new life from the invisible world."⁶¹

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, the successor of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār recited the memorable couplet;

'I wish to live always in thy desire;

I wish to be reduced to dust and remain under thy feet.

Thou alone art my object in both the worlds;

I live only for thy sake and die for thy sake.'⁶²

The disciple and successor of Bābā Farīd, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya tried to maintain the personality of God on rational basis.

After his death, his Khalīfa Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-

Dehli tried to solve the difficulties of pantheism.

On the other hand, Qāqī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nagaurī of Suhrwardī order discussed at length the attributes of God. He held with *Asha'rites* the view that attributes are over and above the essence of God.

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-din Yaḥyā Munairī of *Firdosī* order elaborately dealt with the conception of unity of God (*Tawḥīd*). He categorically affirmed that God is a living being having attributes.

Thus, we find that almost all the saints from 1200 A. D. to 1450 A. D. put forward the conception of Personal and monotheistic God.

Hindu intellectuals laid great emphasis on knowledge. Knowledge, for them, was the end because it was through knowledge that the attainment of liberation (*Moksa*), the Summum Bonum, was possible. But only the contemplative aspect of knowledge was emphasized by them.

The muslim mystics, on the contrary, in line with Al-Ghazzālī and Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī emphasized the volitional aspect of knowledge. They declared that it is inspiration (*Kashf*) through which God can be cognised. They pointed out the limitations of intellect and said that intellect is helpless in cognising God.

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī supported the doctrine, 'one who cognises his own self, cognises God'. He made self-knowledge the basis of gnosis (*Ma'rifa*).

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya explained in detail the various means of attaining knowledge but particularly emphasized the intuitive knowledge.

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn said that gnosis of the mysteries of divine power and the subtleties of the divine nature are impossible, only gnosis of the unity of God is possible.

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī divided inspiration (*Kashf*) into different kinds and pointed out the characteristics of each of them.

Love of God was foreign to Hindu masses. Though the doctrine of the *Pancharatra* and that of the *Ekantika Dharma* of the *Bhagavadgita* is based on the idea that the loving worship of God is a means of attaining salvation yet it is not based on a monotheistic conception of religion. In reality, the primary object is to liberate the soul from the bonds of desires and passions, and *Bhakti* towards *Vasudeva*, the supreme God, is only a means to that end.⁶⁴

But the Muslim mystics attached primary importance to love. It is their unanimous belief that the object of creation of mankind is the love of God. Thus, for them, the ultimate end was the 'love of God' in

this mortal world. Even knowledge of God was not considered as an end in itself but it was regarded as a means for the attainment of love of God.

Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nagaurī made 'love' the sole basis of his philosophy. He explained love ('*Ishq*') as a cosmic emotion and held that it is through love or cosmic emotion that the creation goes on incessantly.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya discussed the chief characteristics of the lover of God. He also explained 'Patience' (*ṣabr*), 'Fear' (*khauf*), 'Resignation' (*Riḳā*) and 'Reliance on God' (*Tawakkul*).

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn regarded the obedience of *Sharī'at* as a preliminary step for attaining the love of God. He discarded the pretensions of the so-called mystics that the obedience of *Sharī'at* is not essential for those who have attained the stage of *Tarīqat* and love ('*Ishq*').

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn elaborately dealt with love ('*Ishq*') and tried to meet the objections that are generally raised against it.

Vision of God was also included by the Muslim mystics in the Summum Bonum. It was held that the highest bliss for the residents of Heaven is the enjoyment of the Vision of God. But they also held that Vision of God is impossible in this mortal world, with the physical eye, in the waking state of life. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn said that one can enjoy the vision of God in this mortal world but only in dream.

With regard to the nature of soul, the Muslim mystics based their views on the verse that soul is the commandment of God.

All of the Muslim mystics supported the determined freedom of the individual. On the one hand, they affirmed the sovereignty of God and on the other, the limited freedom of man.

The world was despised by them. Renunciation was advocated. But they interpreted the word 'world' as "that which keeps a man away from God". A thing which was not a hindrance in the way of God, was not considered by them a worldly thing.

In discussing the thought of the eminent Indian Muslim mystics, the views of Al-Ghazzālī, Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī and Imām ibn Tamiya have also been presented at suitable places to facilitate a comparative study of these philosophers.

The Main Sources of our Study

Writing a thesis on the medieval Muslim saints may be a tempting task but it is fraught with difficulties. The main difficulty relates to the nature of the source material. With the passage of time, the true

picture of these mystics and saints has become dim and obscure due to the numerous stories and legends which have grown round their personalities. Though these legendary stories indicate the working of the mind of the people amongst whom they lived, yet they do not help us in understanding the saints themselves or in interpreting their teachings properly.

(1) *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*

Our earliest and the best source of information for the views of the Indian medieval mystics is the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. It is the collection of the conversations of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya compiled by Amir Hasan Sijzi, the distinguished disciple of the Shaikh. The great historical value of this work lies in the fact that it was revised by the Shaikh himself who filled up the gaps which were left by the writer, wherever he was in doubt as to the real meaning of the Shaikh's conversation.

Visitors used to come to the Shaikh. They put questions and the Shaikh answered them. Sometimes the Shaikh himself narrated to them the stories of the eminent saints and Divines. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* is the collection of such stories, questions and answers.

The book as a whole, is full of valuable information. It includes a variety of topics such as prayer (*Ṣalāt*), fasting (*Ṣaum*), pilgrimage to *Ka'aba*, the different sources of knowledge, the love of God, the attitude of the man towards the universe, the nature of soul, etc. It further indicates the views of the Shaikh regarding the *Mu'tazilites* and *Asha'rites*. There is also some discussion about music (*Samā'*), relation of director (*Pīr*) and disciple (*Murīd*) etc.

(2) *Khair-u'l-Majālis*

The next source book of our study is *Khair-u'l-Majālis*. It is a collection of hundred sayings of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehli. It has been compiled by Ḥamīd Qalandar, the disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. It abounds in references to the books and stories of the eminent saints and divines. Al-Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā-u'l-'ulūm-u'd-dīn* and the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrawardī, have been freely quoted at different places which indicates their influence on the thought of the Shaikh.

Like *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, it includes discussions on prayer (*Ṣalāt*), fasting (*Ṣaum*), conception of God, the love of God, Vision of God, freedom of will, renunciation of the world, etc. It also throws light on

the attitude of the *Shaikh* towards music (*Sama'*) and the question of prostration before the spiritual guide (*Pīr*).

(3) *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* is another very reliable and important source of information for the Indian Medieval scholar saints. It has been written by Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Amīr Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya (1351-1388 A.D.). Amīr Khurd belonged to a family which had been in close contact with Bābā Farīd. He has given in his book whatever he had heard from his ancestors and spiritual master.

The style of this book differs from that of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and *Khair-u'l-Majālis*. Brief but illuminating and interesting accounts of the early Chishtī saints of India have been given here. For the first time the miraculous element has been introduced in the life and the teachings of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. For instance, he states on the one hand that none of the great Chishtī Shaikhs had gone to the Ḥaj pilgrimage. Nevertheless he invites us to believe that every night a flying camel came to the windows of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, took him to holy Mecca, and brought him back in time for the pre-morning meal (*Salvī*).

The views of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya concerning love of God, soul, miracle, vision of God, etc., have been discussed at length. Most of this material has been borrowed from *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*.

(4) *Muktūbāt Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī*

Next to *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* comes the *Muktūbāt Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī*. The *Muktūbāt* gives a fine treatment of the theoretical side of mysticism. For the Indian Medieval Religious Thought it is a most valuable source. It reflects the religious tendencies of the people of that time. It lays down the rules and restrictions for the disciples and the director. Many innovations which crept into *Islām*, have been traced to their origin. A clear refutation of the doctrine of 'Unity of Being' (*Waḥdat-u'l-Wujūd*) as expounded by Shaikh Moḥī-u'd-dīn Ibn-a'l-'Arabī (1165-1240 A.D.) also finds place in it. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn categorically holds that both in the stage of gnosticism (*'Ilm*) and in the stage of immediate vision of the 'Unity of Being' the creature remains the creature and God remains God.⁶⁵

A detailed discussion on *Sharī'at*, *Tarīqat* and *Ḥaqīqat*, Gnosis, Love of God, Vision of God, Nature of Soul, Service to Humanity and Freedom of Will, etc., forms the subject matter of the *Muktūbāt*.

(5) *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*

Another important book next to '*Mukīūbāt*' is the '*Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*'. The author of this book is Shaikh Jamālī, a mystic of the *Suhrwardī* order who flourished in Delhi during the reign of Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī and Humayūn. The book contains a fair account of both the *Chishtī* and *Suhrwardī* orders.

(6) *The Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār fī Asrār-il-Abrār*

The author of this book is Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq of Dehli, one of the most distinguished traditionalists (*Moḥaddith*) this country has ever produced. This book is a biographical dictionary of Indo-Muslim scholars and mystics. Though the Shaikh could not go into details owing to the plan of his work, yet the book reflects a fine critical sense and capacity for examining evidence. As a trained scholar of the traditions of the prophet (*Moḥaddith*) the Shaikh has carefully applied the *uṣūl-i-Isnād* (critique of evidence) to his study of medieval saints.

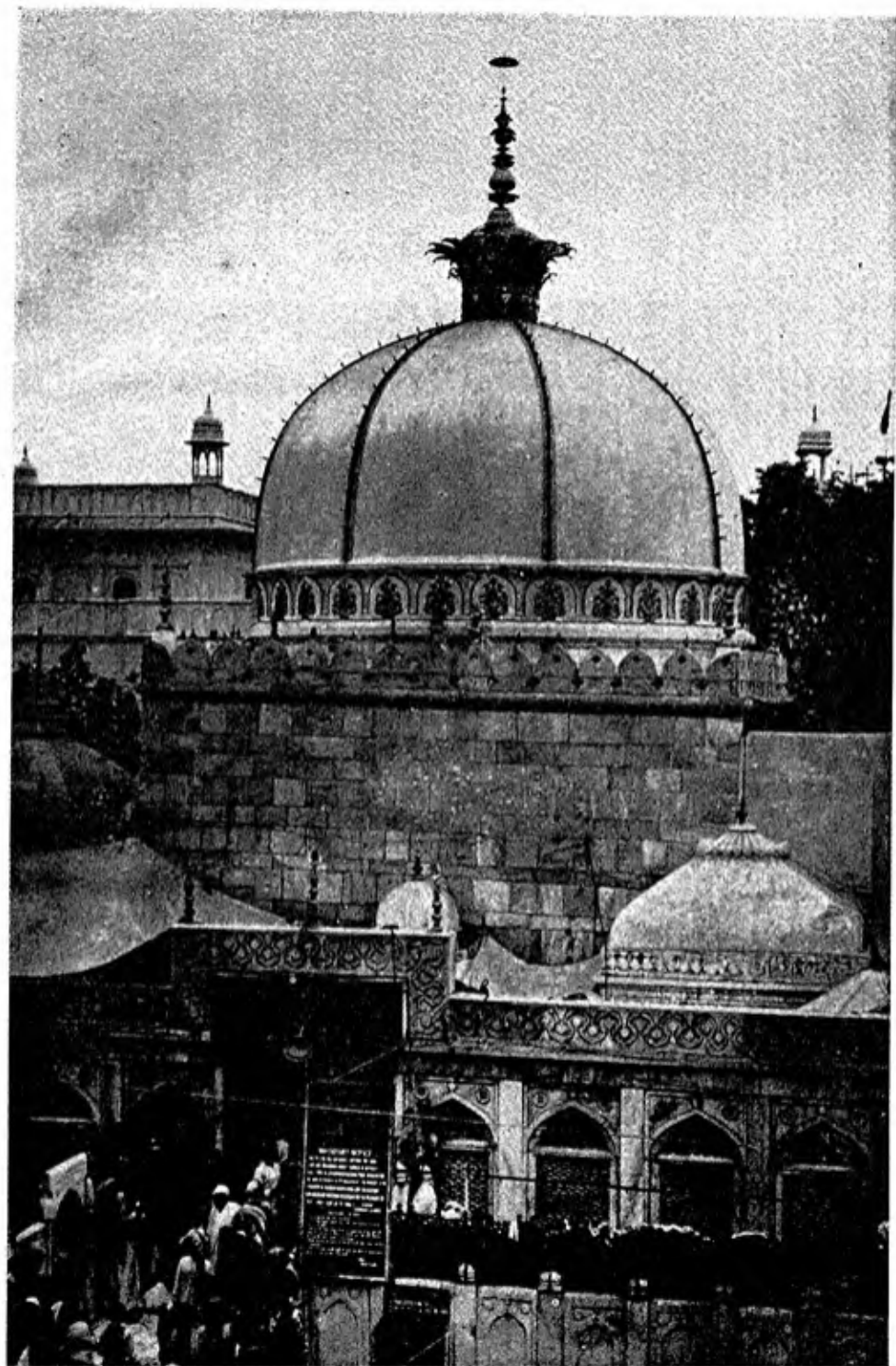
Besides these genuine works there are a number of apocryphal sayings (*Mulḡūzāt*) relating to the *Chishtī* and other Indo-Muslim mystics. The most current and famous of them are : (i) *The Anīs-u'l-Arwāḥ*—Conversations of Shaikh Uthmān Hāroonī, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Ajmerī. (ii) *ʿAlīl-u'l-ʿArifīn*—Conversations of Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Ajmerī, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. (iii) *The Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn*—Conversations of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd of Ajodhan. (iv) *The Asrār-u'l-Auliya*—Conversations of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan alleged to have been written by his son-in-law, Maulānā Badr Ishāq. (v) *The Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*—Conversations of Bābā Farīd, alleged to have been written by Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. (vi) *The Afzāl-u'l-Fawā'id*, 2 volumes—The second volume is also given the name of *Rāḥat-u'l-Muḥibbīn*. The book is alleged to have been written by the poet, Amīr Khusrau. (vii) *The Miftāḥ-u'l-ʿAshiqīn*—Conversations of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Maḥmūd written by Muḥibb-ullāh. (viii) & (ix) The apocryphal *Diwans* of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.

Though these sayings (*Mulḡūzāt*) have been in circulation for a fairly long time yet they are pure and simple fabrications. So they have been rejected for use in the main text.⁶⁶

CHAPTER I

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī was born in Sajistan in 1142-43 A. D., and died in 1235-36 A. D., in Ajmer.¹ After the death of his father he inherited only a garden from his paternal property. He used to labour in that garden and lived on the fruits of it. Once a *durveish* named Abraham Qundozi happened to pass by. On seeing him, Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn ran to him, kissed his hands, requested him to sit under a tree and offered him a bunch of grapes. There upon Abraham Qundozi took out a rape-seed (*Kunjad*) from his side, cut it with his teeth, took some of it himself and put the rest into the mouth of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn with his own hands. This, it is said, brought about a great spiritual change in Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. He disposed of his entire property and took himself to itineracy. For sometime, he stayed on at Bukhārā and Samarqund, learning the *Qur'ān* by heart and completing his studies of the external sciences ('*Ulūm Zāhirī*'). There after he left Bukhārā for Iraq. On reaching Haron in Nishāpur, he came into contact with Khwajā Uthmān Harvanī² and became his disciple. Under the spiritual guidance of his mentor and a hard life of penitence and mortification spread over twenty years,³ he traversed the mystical path. Khwajā Uthmān granted him his *Khilāfat-Nāmāh*. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn with the permission of his director, came to Sanjar in Baghdād. Sanjar at that time was the abode of Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Kubrā. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn passed about a month in the company of Najm-u'd-dīn and from there he came to Jail⁴ where he met Shaikh Mohī-u'd-dīn 'Abdu'-Qādir Jilānī. For fifty seven days Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn enjoyed the company of Shaikh Jilānī and then reached Baghdād where he enjoyed the benefit of the company of Shaikh Ziyā-u'd-dīn.⁵ It was there that Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī and Shaikh Oḥad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī came in contact with Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. From Baghdad Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn came to Hamdan where he met Shaikh Yusuf Hamadānī and from Humdan he came to Tubrez where he met Shaikh Abū Sayeed Tabrezi.⁶ He reached India during the reign of Pirthvi Raj and settled in Ajmer. At that time Ajmer was a great political and religious centre. Living in a small hut, wearing worn out clothes, he attracted people from far and near.⁷



Tomb of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti



After the conquest of Hindustan by Muḥammad Ghorī and his viceroy Quṭb-u'd-dīn Aibuk, Ajmer lost its importance. At first, Lahore was the centre of the Turkish empire; then it was shifted to Delhi. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn remained in Ajmer throughout his life. But he sent his Khalīfa, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār to Delhi for the propagation of the mystic principles of the Chishtī order. One of his disciples, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī settled at Nagaur and earned his livelihood by cultivating land.⁸

Some Chishtī saints came to India before Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, but the credit of establishing the Chishtī order in India goes to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. His arrival in India marks the dawn of a new era in the religious and cultural history of India. In view of his missionary efforts, Mīr Khurd calls him, 'The deputy of the Prophet of God in India'.⁹ As the results of his missionary efforts, a large number of Indians embraced Islām.¹⁰

At the time when the great saint decided to settle in Ajmer, it was a great citadel of the Rajputs and was revered by the Hindus for its spiritual sanctity. Hindus visited Ajmer from far and near.¹¹ Thus, this decision of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn to settle in Ajmer shows the firmness of his resolution and infinite confidence in himself.

At that time, the Hindu society was suffering from a number of evils. The caste system had eaten into its very vitals and the Hindu philosophers and thinkers had strengthened the bond of casteism and theological contamination by their teaching and preachings. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, under these environmental conditions that were prevailing in India, preached the conception of unity of God (Tawḥīd) and explained to them the far reaching implications of faith in one God who is approachable by all and who needs no intermediary to establish contact with Him.

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn himself did not write any book. It has been said that Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn, is the collection of the sayings (Mulḥazāt) of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn which has been compiled by his Khalīfa and successor, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār. But this point has already been refuted by Professor Moḥammad Ḥabīb in his article "Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultanate Periods."¹² The author of Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār has borrowed material from Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn regarding the life of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. In the present work we have largely depended on the information contained in Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār. Besides Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār, books such as Siyar-u'l-Auliya and Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn also throw some light on the life and Thought of the Shaikh. But what we

find in these books is not sufficient for the formulation of a coherent and systematic philosophy of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din.

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din, undoubtedly, was an outstanding personality. He highly influenced the Indo-Muslim Religious Thought and his influence was a lasting influence. Even today millions of Indians are attached to his mystic order. But it is a pity that we find only scattered stories and sayings about the Shaikh. However, we shall try to put these scattered sayings into a coherent philosophical system in the following lines:

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din was a thorough going mystic. He popularised mysticism in India and assigned to the mystic the highest place among mankind. He says, 'Mystics are like the sun, they shine over the whole world and entire world is illumined by their light.'¹³ But he further says that the following characteristics are indispensable for the mystics:—

- (i) A mystic is one who keeps his heart free from both the worlds, throws out all the things which are other than God from his heart, and becomes one as his friend (God) is one.¹⁴
- (ii) The mystic is quiet and melancholy. He obeys¹⁵ and fears God, is in love with death, renounces the comforts and absorbs himself in the remembrance of God.¹⁵
- (iii) The man who possesses the qualities of charity like the charity of the river, kindness like the kindness of the sun and humility like the humility of the earth is the true friend of God.¹⁶ Thus, the qualities of charity, kindness and humility are necessary for a mystic.

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din tried to infuse the spirit of human service in his disciples. He declared that service to humanity is service to God. He particularly emphasized help to the oppressed, satisfying the needs of the needy and giving food to hungry persons.¹⁷

- (iv) A mystic, in a true sense, is *mutawakkil* (Trusting in God). *Mutawakkil* is one who ceases to be a source of trouble for the creatures. But to be a *mutawakkil*, one should observe the discipline of servitude ('*Abdiyyat*') and should respect God.¹⁸
- (v) A mystic is one who gets the thing according to his wish and receives the answers of his questions from God.¹⁹

Now these are the statements such as 'to be a *mutawakkil* man should observe the discipline of servitude and should respect God', and 'a mystic gets the thing according to his wish and receives the answers of his questions from God' which lead us to the conception of personal God

as held by Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. These two characteristics unambiguously indicate the personal relation between man and God.

God, in the opinion of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, can be cognised only through Gnosis (*Ma'rifat*).²⁰ But Gnosis is not a complete knowledge of God. Complete knowledge of God is not possible as knowledge of God is an unbounded ocean while Gnosis is a simple stream which flows from that ocean.²¹ Purification of heart from all things other than God is a pre-requisite for Gnosis which is possible only through love of God, as love of God produces a fire in the heart of a lover (of God) which consumes everything that comes in contact with it.²²

Thus, love of God is the ultimate end for human beings in this finite world. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn says that no fire is better than the fire of love (*'Ishq*). But love aspires for vision. So according to Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, the Summum Bonum of human life can be defined, with equal justification, as the vision of God. He says, 'when God bestows life on His friends by infusing His light into them, it is the Vision.'²³

CHAPTER II

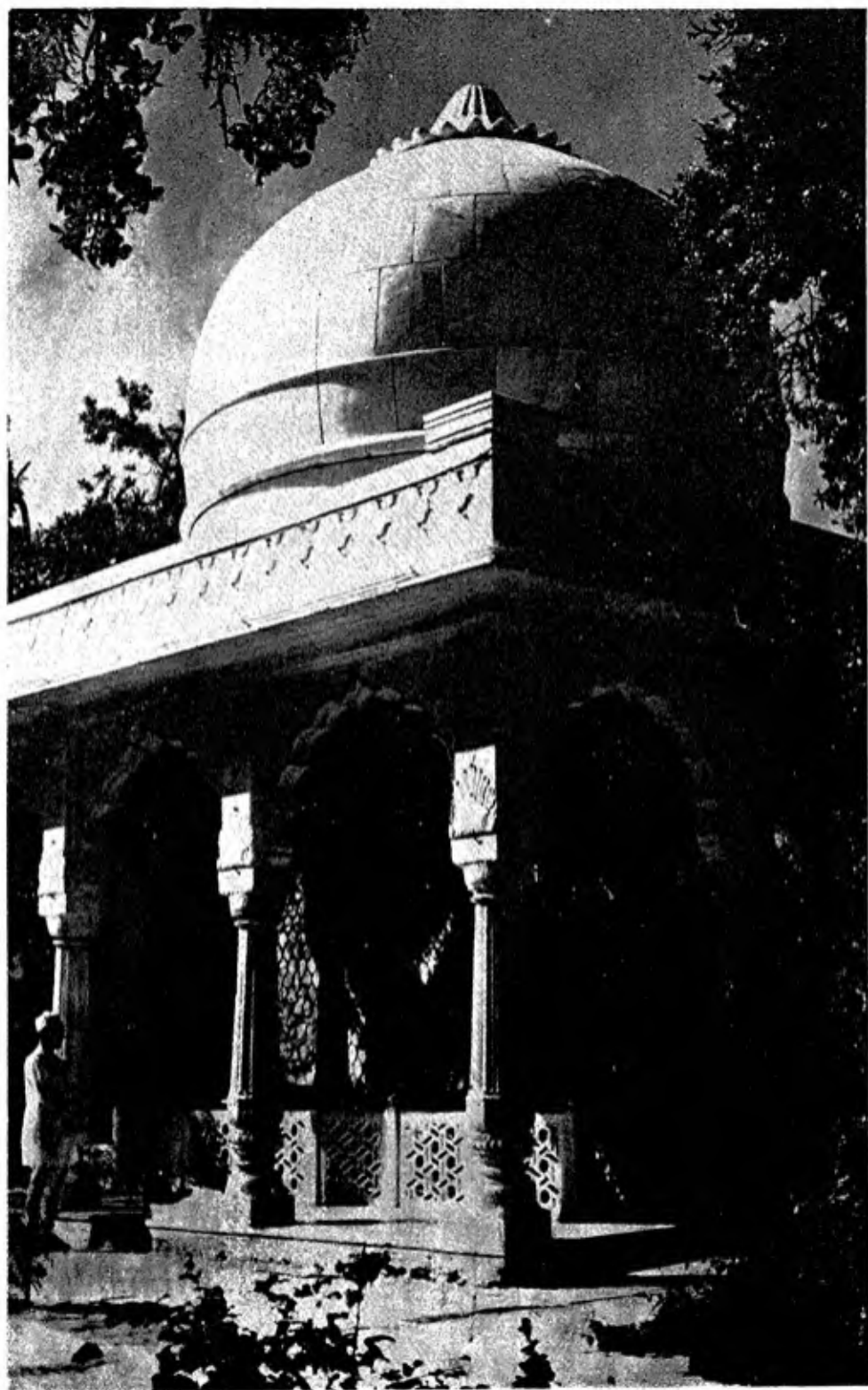
Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was born at Aush in 1186-87 A. D., and died in 1235-36 A. D.¹ He received his early training from his mother. Later on, he studied *Qur'ān* with Maulānā Alu Hāfs. After finishing his education at Aush, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, for the purpose of his inner development, proceeded to Baghdad which was at that time the cultural centre of *Islām*. Here he met Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī in the mosque of Imām Abū-Laith Samarqandī and became his disciple in the presence of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, Auḥad-u'd-dīn Kirmānī, Shaikh Burhān-u'd-dīn chishtī and Shaikh Moḥammad Ṣafa-hānī.² Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn granted his *khilāfāt* to him and ordered him to live and work at Delhi, the capital of the nascent Muslim Empire of Hindustan.³

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was a man of vigils,⁴ piety and penitence. He was always absorbed in the remembrance of God.⁵ Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn says, "Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn-Bakhtiyār returned home after the funeral ceremony of his youngest son. Having heard the weeping and wailing of his wife, he began to lament. When the reason for the lamentation was asked, he said, 'Now it occurs to me why I did not pray for the life of my son. Had I prayed for it, I would have got it'." Recording this incident Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn praises the absorption of the Shaikh. The remembrance of God overpowered him so much that he could not even remember the life and death of his son.⁶

He passed his life in indigent circumstances.⁷ Shaikh Muḥammad Noor Bukhs writes, in *Silsilat-u'l-dhahab*, about Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, "Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was the lover of solitude and seclusion; he was frugal in meals and had little conversation with people, he always absorbed himself in remembrance of God, and was a man of spiritual experience."⁸

It was due to the efforts of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn that the centre of *Chishtī* order was established at Delhi. He reached Delhi in the reign of Sulṭān Altutmish who cordially welcomed him. Due to the Mongol invasions in central Asia, thousands of distinguished scholars, saints, poets and divines sought refuge in Delhi. The enlightened and liberal patronage of Sulṭān Altutmish offered them a safe haven. Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn kept himself aloof from politics and devoted his time and



Tomb of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-din Bakhtiyar Kaki



energy to popularising mysticism among the masses of Delhi. Sulṭān Altutmish developed great faith in him. He was deeply loved and revered by the people. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* narrates the following story:

Shaikh Najm-u'd-dīn Sughrā, Shaikh-u'l-Islām of his time developed a spirit of jealousy against Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār because of the reverence showed to him by the Sulṭān and the people alike. Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī who visited Delhi, was greatly shocked by it. He asked his disciple to leave Delhi and accompany him to Ajmer. The news of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn's intended departure spread in the city like a wild fire, and the people ran to him. When the khwāja and his disciple set out for Ajmer, the Sulṭān and the public went in their wake for miles. Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn was very much touched when he found the ruler and the ruled feeling so deeply for Quṭb-u'd-dīn. He allowed Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn to remain in Delhi.⁹

For the expansion of the order Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn trained a number of disciples and khaliḥs among whom Farīd-u'd-dīn's name is outstanding.

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn did not write any book. It has been said that Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn, is the collection of the sayings (*Mulḥāṣāt*) of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī which has been compiled by Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd of Ajodhan. But this book is a pure and simple fabrication.¹⁰ Books such as Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* and Akhhār-u'l-Akhyār convey to us some ideas of the life and thought of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn.

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was a thorough-going mystic and, like his director, he assigned the highest position to the mystic ('*Ārif*'). He repeated the words of his director, 'Mystics are like the sun who shine over the whole world and the entire world is illumined by their light'.¹¹ He made 'poverty', 'hunger', 'melancholy' and 'friendship', the indispensable things for the mystic. He said that these things are the essence of the soul. But he further emphasized that the real mystic attitude lies in feeling satisfaction in hunger, pleasure in melancholy and friendship in enmity.¹²

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was a firm believer in the personality of God. The famous line which he relished so much proves this fact clearly. The verse is as follows:

'One who has been killed with the dagger of submission every moment attains a new life from the invisible world.'

It is said that on hearing this verse, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn remained

in ecstasy for four days and nights together except the times of prayers. Whenever he regained his consciousness he asked for the recitation of the same verse. On the fifth night he departed from this world for the world beyond.¹³

Love of God, according to him, is the highest end one can attain in this life. For the attainment of love the Shaikh prescribed the path of sincerity. He said that God should be loved from the core of one's heart. There should not be declaration of love only from the lips of the lover of God.¹⁴ He affirmed the continuity of human life. Death, for him, is not the termination of life; on the contrary, it unites the lover (creature) and the beloved (God). He said, 'Death bridges the gulf existing between the creature and the creator.'¹⁵

Thus, the life for which the mystic endeavours in this mortal world, begins after his death. Hence, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn said that it is death which makes the earthly life a valuable one. Without death it is not worth a penny.¹⁶ A mystic, in this finite world, craves for the vision of God. But due to physical limitations, he cannot enjoy it in his waking state. After death the lover enjoys the vision of his beloved (God) without any hindrance. Hence, a mystic always longs for his death, so that he may attain his cherished end (Vision of God).

CHAPTER III

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn was born in Fort Court Croar.¹ He received his early education at his home. But after the death of his father, at the age of eleven, he came to Khorāsān for further studies, and he remained here for seven years. After that he proceeded to Bokhārā where he completed his formal education and attained a high reputation as a scholar. Due to the profound learning and piety of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn people of Bokhārā called him Bahā-u'd-dīn, the angel.²

Having completed his formal education, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn left for the pilgrimage of Ka'aba. For fifty three years together he served in the capacity of an attendant at the sepulchral monument of Prophet Moḥammad. During that period he thoroughly mastered the knowledge of tradition under the inspiring guidance of Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn Yamanī. From Medīna, Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn came to Baghdād where he was initiated into the order by Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī.³ For his inner development Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn surrendered himself to the service of his director whose instructions and guidance enabled him to traverse the difficult path of mysticism. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya remarks about Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn, "Within seventeen days, Bahā-u'd-dīn secured so much spiritual bounties in the company of his director, that it is difficult for others to attain even within the duration of a year."⁴ The director said about his disciple that Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn was a dry wood which caught fire at the first striking.⁵

Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn bestowed upon Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn his robe (*khirqāh*) and deputed him as his *khalīfah* in Multān for the work of preaching and guidance. Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn discharged his duties so efficiently that not only the people of Multān embraced *Islām* in overwhelming numbers, but people thronged to him from Sindh and Balochistān. It is for this reason that Bābā Farid named the regions of Multān, Sindh and Balochistān as the territory of Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā.⁶

It is a matter of great pity that we are in possession of very scanty material regarding such an eminent and illustrious personality. We find some references about Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn in *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*,

but that is hardly adequate for our purposes. *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn* provides us with some material about the *Shaikh*, but it is not sufficient to enable us to draw any philosophical sketch of the *Shaikh's* ideas. *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār* makes some mention of *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn* but in a very brief manner. All the above mentioned books just give us a glimpse of the attitude of *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn* towards the people in general, towards the wandering dervishes (*Qalandars*), and towards the kings and wealth. It will not be out of place here to mention some facts about the attitude of the *Shaikh* with regard to these matters as it would enable us to differentiate the *Suhrwardī* order from the *Chishtī* order.

Attitude towards the people in general

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn did not welcome the people in general. People, according to him, can be divided into two categories; the general masses and the selected few. He had nothing to do with the general masses.⁷ He was only concerned with the selected few who visited him and attained spiritual benefits according to their abilities.⁸ But the *Chishtī* saints, on the contrary, welcomed the people in general without any distinction of caste and creed. Every one was received by them with an affectionate heart and with the warmth of love.⁹

Attitude towards wandering dervishes

Wandering dervishes were not allowed to visit *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn* freely.¹⁰ *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn* says, "Only few wandering dervishes were allowed to visit *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn*, but every one whether he was a wandering dervish or monk (*durveish*) was allowed to visit *Bātā Farīd*."¹¹

Attitude towards the king

Suhrwardī saints formed a close association with *Sultāns*. They believed that one could attend to temporal affairs without any harm to spiritual development. *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā* accepted the office of *Shaikh-u'l-Islām* under *Iltutmish*.¹² When *Qabāchā*, the governor of *Multān* hatched a conspiracy against *Sultān Shams-u'd-dīn Iltutmish*, *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn* wrote a letter to the *Sultān* in this connection.¹³ His grandson, *Shaikh Rukn-u'd-dīn* also held the post of *Shaikh-u'l-Islām* under *Sultān ʿAllā-u'd-dīn Khiljī*.¹⁴ But the *Chishtī* saints adopted the attitude of complete indifference towards the courts and camps.¹⁵

Attitude towards wealth

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn was himself a man of wealth.¹⁶ He led a richly life and did not observe unobligatory fasts generally. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn commenting on Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn's way of life quotes this verse, "Eat from the pure and good things and perform good actions."¹⁷

A dialogue between Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī and Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn clarifies the views of each with regard to wealth. The discussion is as follows:

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn: What is the reason of wealth being associated with the serpent, when there is neither any external nor any internal relation between them ?

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn: Though there is no external relation between them yet they are internally related to one another. As the serpent possesses the deadly poison, so wealth reduces many people to dust.

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn: If wealth possesses the characteristics of a serpent, the person who cares for wealth, in reality cares for the serpent. (This was a direct attack on Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn as he was himself in possession of wealth).

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn: Though wealth has been characterised as serpent, yet the poison of serpent has no effect on the man who knows the charm.

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn: Where is the sense in taking care of the dirty poisonous animal and of being in need of a charm.

(Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn acknowledges it as a mild defect but justifies it as a protection against the evil eye of the malicious and retorts with the following counter attack against the *durveishes* of the *Chishtī* order).

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn: *Durveishes* of your order are not so beautiful as to be affected with the evil eye. But the *durveishes* in our order possess such perfection and beauty that if they do not apply the black spot on their face, there remains the danger of their being affected with the evil eye.¹⁸

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn: Beauty is only the attribute of your *durveishes*; it is not their essence, because the beauty which is the essence can not be affected with the evil eye.¹⁹

This dialogue clearly shows that Bahā-u'd-dīn was not against the possession of wealth. The only condition which he laid down was its proper use. Wealth, in his opinion, was not harmful for a man, provided he knew its right use.

But almost all the saints in *Chishtī* order, from Khwāja Mu'in-u'd-dīn to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn despised wealth. They led an indigent life and considered wealth as a great hindrance in the spiritual progress of the individual.²⁰ Thus, the attitude of Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā towards secular authority and wealth clearly proves that he emphasized the spiritual development of the human beings. It was his firm belief that a man spiritually developed cannot be overpowered either by associating with the secular authority or the possession of great wealth. On the contrary, such spiritual beings dominate over kings and worldly powers.

CHAPTER IV

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn (d. 1273 A. D.), a descendant of Sa'yeed-u'd-dīn Zaīd,¹ was a Khalifah² of Shaikh Mu'In-u'd-dīn Chishtī. He settled at Sawālī, a village in Nagore³ and passed his life in abject poverty. He earned his livelihood by cultivating a bigha of land. He had only two sheets of cloth with him, in which he used one sheet to tie round his waist, and the other one to put on his body. His wife too led a life of frugality. She had to cover her head with the hem of her shirt. But there was a touch of dignity in his poverty. He never talked of worldly grandeur and position. Once the governor of Nagore presented to him some money in cash and some landed property on behalf of the Sultān, but he refused to accept the offer and said, "None of our Shaikhs has accepted such things; the one bigha of land which I already possess is sufficient for me."⁴

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn was a man of scholarly tastes. He laid greater emphasis on the knowledge of *ḥadīth* (Traditions of the Prophet) than on the knowledge of mysticism. Once he said to one of his disciples, "I am busy here in preaching traditions of the Prophet to the people of Nagore, I have no time to teach you mysticism."⁵ Besides deep religious insight, he possessed good knowledge of 'Arabic, Persian and Hindi'. He had a long and elaborate correspondence with Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā with regard to 'poverty' and 'richness'.⁶ He also corresponded with Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn. He wrote many books, of which 'Uṣul-u'l-Tarīqā' is the best. His collection of sayings (*Mulḡūḡāt*), 'Siyar-u's-Ṣudūr' compiled by his grandson occupies a unique position in the mystic sayings of 14th century.⁷ Several authentic books, such as *Siyar-u'l-Auliyyā* and *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*, throw valuable light on the life and thought of Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn. We summarise the main ideas of the Shaikh below :—

Knowledge of God

Knowledge of God (Gnosis or *M'arifāt*) which cannot be attained through intellect, says Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, is possible only through

self-knowledge. The Prophet has said, 'one who knows himself, knows God'. Self-knowledge means knowing the self as an integrated whole, and also knowing its component parts—differentiating them from one another. In order to grasp the self fully, one should have the thorough knowledge of the nature of the self and the functions of its component parts. The relation of body and soul should be clearly understood both in their theoretical and practical aspects. According to Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī, there are four faculties in man; (i) Sense (*Ḥis*), (ii) Lower soul (*Nafs*), (iii) Heart (*Qulb*), and (iv) Soul (*Rūḥ*). The complete knowledge of the nature of these faculties and their working is indispensable for the good conduct and purification of the heart from all the human infirmities which leads to the knowledge of God.⁸

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn further discussed the acquirement of the knowledge of God which he calls as search for God. He says that there are two schools. One school supports the acquirement of the knowledge of God. They argue that if the acquirement of the knowledge of God were denied, it would amount to nullification, that is, to a denial of the existence of God on intellectual grounds.⁹ Therefore, they affirm the search for God. But another school opposes the above contention. They claim that if the search for God were accepted, it would amount to assimilation, that is, to infer the existence of God from intellectual proofs.¹⁰ In the search for God one applies the human attributes to Him and thus, God becomes an anthropomorphic God, this goes against the spirit of the *Qur'ān*. Therefore, search for God can never be supported. Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn opposes both the above schools and says that they are wrong in their views. One should not seek God like an anthropomorphist and one should not deny the existence of God on the intellectual basis. There should be a search for God but in seeking God one should necessarily keep in his mind the following :—

(i) God has no direction, so as to move in it; (ii) He is not in space so as to require space as an indispensable condition for His existence; (iii) He is not the one who would ever take a concrete shape so as to justify one seeking spatial proximity with Him; (iv) He is not at a measurable distance, so as to enable one to come close to Him; (v) He is not the one who is lost so as to make it possible for one to find Him out; (vi) He is not identical with time so that one might wait for Him; and (vii) He is not space so that one might depend on Him in the sense in which one depends on space.

All these views go against the desire to seek God in terms of material attributes and this seems to be the true position. But all the above views are the negative aspects of the search for God, so naturally

the question arises as to what are the positive aspects of the quest. In the first place, it is necessary that one should neglect one's own self and one's qualities, so that he may raise himself above all the human and angelic qualities and may assimilate the quality of God. "Search for God", according to Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, does not mean His affirmation; it means absorbing oneself in Him. It is not investigating God but annihilating (*Fanā*)¹¹ oneself in God. This absorption and the annihilation of self in God is possible only after the purification of soul from all human vices. A man who talks of union with God without purifying his inner self from infirmities, talks non-sense. When a man raises himself above both the worlds and abstains from sensuous pleasures and desires, he attains gnosis (*M'arifat*) with the result that wherever he is, he is with God; whatever he says, he says in the words of God; and whatever he seeks, he seeks Him and Him alone.¹²

Thus, we find that 'Gnosis' as explained by Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn is identical with the views of Al-Ghazzālī on "*Ilm-a'l-Mukāshafa*". In the system of Al-Ghazzālī "*Ilm-a'l-Mukāshafa*" is used for what the ṣūfīs call '*m'arifat*', i.e., intuition or direct apprehension of super-sensory realities. "*Ilm-a'l-Mukāshafa*" is a certitude which is the result of the light that God instils into the heart when it is purged of vices and filled with virtues through "*Ilm-a'l-Mu'āmalā*". Knowledge of the soul is the key to the knowledge of God. The soul is like a mirror equipped to reflect the real nature of things recorded on the guarded tablet. When the soul is emptied of sense knowledge, it reacts to the images on the guarded tablet and receives direct impressions from it.¹³

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn assigns the highest place to the seekers of God among the believers in God. Believers in God, according to the Shaikh may be divided into two categories; (i) the followers of *Sharī'at* and (ii) the possessors of *Ṭarīqat*. *Sharī'at* is the code of *Islām* which prescribes various modes of action and practice while *Ṭarīqat* is the way towards God through purification of soul, for which some ascetic means are adopted by the mystic. Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn did not differentiate between *Sharī'at* and *Ṭarīqat*. *Sharī'at* and *Ṭarīqat* according to him are one. Just as there is a unity between body and soul, in the like manner *Ṭarīqat* is the spirit of *Sharī'at*.¹⁴ The possessors of *Ṭarīqat* again have been subdivided by the Shaikh into (i) those who have attained inspiration and (ii) those who have lost themselves in God, i. e., the seekers of God.

The followers of *Sharī'at* are desirous of reward in the next world. They strictly follow the letter of law and are ignorant of the fact of

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piety and the delicate secrets of self.¹⁵ Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn calls such men as powerless men (*M'adhūrān*). These people even after their acceptance of the unity of God (*Ṭawḥīd*), do not come in the presence of Almighty; and if they come, they come slowly and very late. And they do not turn their attention to the *Qur'ānic* injunction laid down in the following verse :

'And vie with one another for forgiveness from your Lord, and for a paradise as wide as are the Heavens and the earth, prepared for those who ward off evil.'¹⁶

The religion of such people is called by Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn as the *Dīn-i-Zālimān* which is to fly away from sins and hang on obedience.¹⁷

The possessors of *Ṭarīqat* (those who have attained inspiration) attain the knowledge of the fact of piety and the minute secrets of self; but do not know the secrets of 'nearness' and 'the splendour of the Vision of God'. Their inspiration in fact serves as a veil between them and God.¹⁸ Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn calls such people as praised men (*Mushkoorān*). They have perfect agreement and harmony in their beliefs and practices. And the religion followed by them is called by the Shaikh as *Dīn-i-Muqtaṣidān* which is to be cut off from the world and to take rest in the next world.¹⁹

The seekers of God attain the secrets of 'nearness' and the splendour of the Vision of God; because these people raise themselves above the inspiration and lose themselves in God.²⁰ Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn calls such men as faithful men (*Wafāniyān*). They remember the covenant, "And (remember) when thy lord brought forth from the children of Adam, from their reins, their seed, and made them testify of themselves, (saying); Am I not your Lord? They said: Yea, verily. We testify. (That was) lest ye should say at the Day of Resurrection: Lo! of this we were un-aware;"²¹ in which they had entered with God. And the religion of such people has been called by the Shaikh as *Dīn-i-Sābiqān* which is the turning away from all things other than God and to be attached to God.²²

This above classification of religion, says Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, does not mean that there is a difference in religion, religion is one, but the classification indicates the varying degrees of spiritual progress of the followers of religion.

Freedom of Will

Individuals, says Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, differ from one another in essence. The difference can be explained with the analogy of stone and

earth. Just as the stone is the composition of purified elements and the earth is the composition of non-purified elements, similarly some men have been created from purified elements, some from the mixture of purified and non-purified elements, and some absolutely from non-purified elements. The creation in such an order is in accordance with the Will of God. Without His Will not a single leaf falls from the tree and no grass grows on earth. But no argument can be put forward for the creation of such an order. God says in the *Qur'ān*, "He (God) will not be questioned as to that which He doeth, but they will be questioned."²⁴ "His verily is all creation and commandment."²⁵

Thus, God, says Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, considered a person fit for honour and nearness, and as He considered, so He created him; while He did not consider some other person fit for nearness and honour, and as He considered, so He brought him into existence.²⁶ But the above statement of Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn does not mean that man is absolutely determined in his action. It will be a misinterpretation of the spirit of his philosophy. He emphasized the sovereignty of God, on the one hand, and the limited freedom of the human being, on the other. He supported the *Qur'ānic* verse, "*Allāh* tasketh not a soul beyond its scope."²⁷ He says that every man will be questioned for his actions only in so far as he has been provided by God with his potentialities.²⁸ Again the commandments and the prohibitions of God in the *Qur'ān*, says Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, indicate the freedom of Human beings, otherwise, on the basis of the absolute determination of the individuals such commandments and prohibitions become meaningless.²⁹

Thus, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn asserts that man is free in his own effort, but this effort of the individuals is intimately connected with the Grace of God. Grace of God plays an important role in *Islām*. *Islām* undoubtedly supports that God helps the individuals in the forms of grace (*Tawfīq*), guidance (*Rushd*), etc., at every step and without the help of God individuals can do nothing. But the help of God is only for those who help themselves. Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī supports the above contention. He says that grace of God is eternal but the individuals attain it according to their capacities and merits.³⁰

Vision of God

Early theologians in *Islām* declared Vision of God as the Summum Bonum which will become possible in the life hereafter. They held out hopes that at least some of the believers in paradise will be able to see God and this will constitute the highest bliss for them.³¹ The *Qur'ān*

asserts that the sight of God or His countenance is the highest blessing for man. "Repel not those who call upon their Lord at morn and evening, seeking His countenance."³² "Such as persevere in seeking their Lord's countenance and are regular in prayer and spend of that which we bestow upon them secretly and openly, and overcome Evil with Good. Theirs will be the sequel of the (heavenly) Home."³³ "So give to the kinsman his due, and to the needy, and to the wayfarer. That is best for those who seek *Allāh's* countenance. And such are they who are successful."³⁴ "That which ye give in usury in order that it may increase on (other) people's property hath no increase with *Allāh*; but that which ye give in charity, seeking *Allāh's* countenance, hath increase manifold."³⁵

The phrase, '*Allāh's* countenance' was interpreted by the early theologians as the Sight or Vision of God. But *Mu'tazilites* denied the Vision of God on rational basis. They argued that vision (of God) involves a directing of the eyes on the part of the seer, and position on the part of the seen; but God being beyond space, can never be assigned a particular place and direction. Therefore, they tried to explain away the passages of the *Qur'ān* on the subject. But *Ash'arites* opposed the view of *Mu'tazilites*. They asserted the Vision of God and said that Vision of God, in the next world will be free from the limitation of the senses.³⁶

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī supported *Ash'arites* and asserted that one has seen who has eyes to see. Nay, one, who is blind, has also seen (God). But he affirmed that it is not possible to grasp the Vision of God with the aid of intellect. Unity (of God) is absolute and is free from all traces of forms and marks, but intellect breeds marks and forms. Again, unity and diversity are the contradictory qualities for the intellect and this contradiction can not be resolved by intellect. It was in this sense that Imām Abū Ḥanīfa said, 'One who worships that which can be imagined, is an infidel, until he returns to the worship of one that can not be imagined.'³⁷ Therefore, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn concluded that intellect is helpless in grasping the Vision of God.

Heaven and Hell

The interpretation of 'Heaven and Hell' by Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn differs from the interpretation of the orthodox theologians. Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn says that Heaven and Hell are forms of actions of the individuals. A man who performs good deeds in this mortal world will see them in favourable shapes in the world beyond. But the shapes of

actions in the world beyond will be based on their respective values.³⁸ He quotes the *Qur'ānic* verse, "And whoso doeth good an atom's weight will see it then, And whoso doeth ill an atom's weight will see it then."³⁹

This interpretation of "Heaven and Hell" by Shaikh Ḥamid-u'd-dīn is similar to that of Al-Ghazzālī. Al-Ghazzālī says "The threat of religion that serpents and scorpions harass the sinner in the grave will be nothing but the human traits and attributes symbolised. The sufferings of Hell will be felt like the bite of serpent, the delights of Heaven will appear as shady and fruitful trees, rivulets, fair maidens, etc. They will be the embodiments of the volitional natures of man. The snakes, etc., are symbolised qualities of our nature, such as, malice, hypocrisy, pride, avarice, etc. They spring up directly from the love of the world."⁴⁰

CHAPTER V

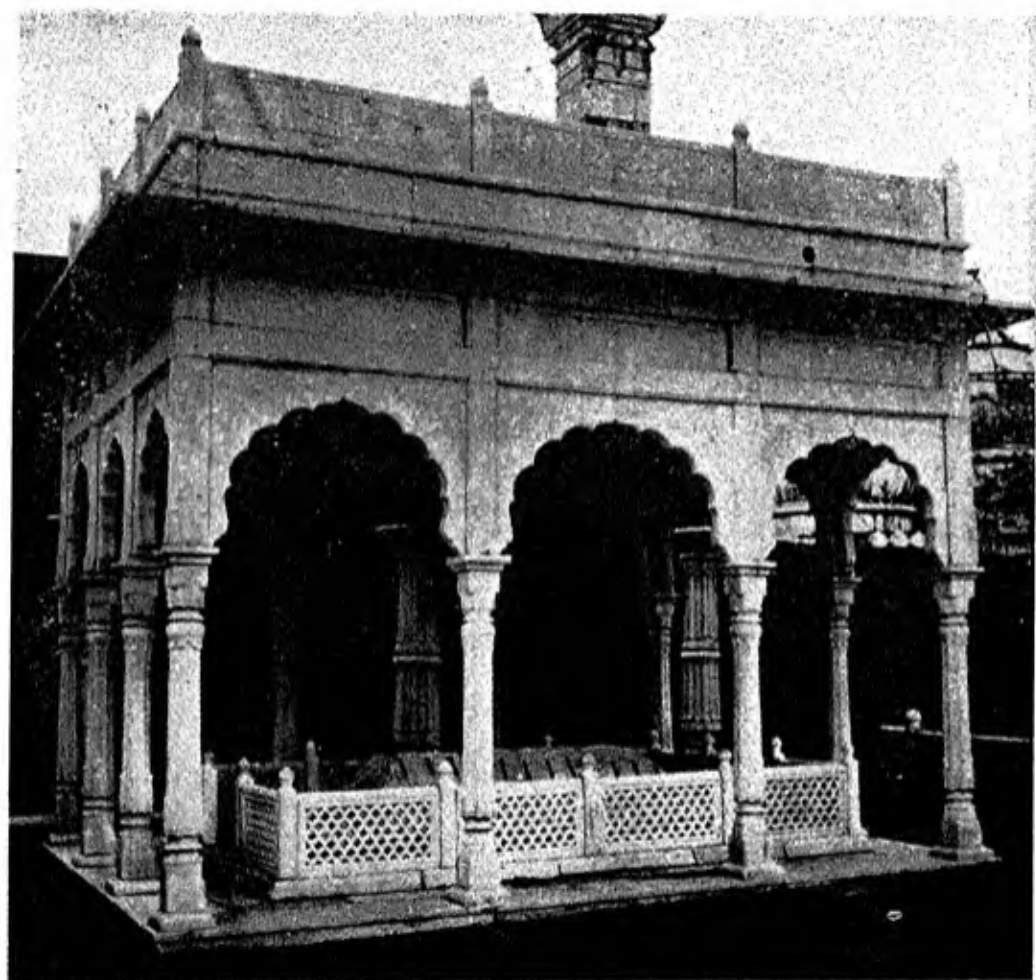
Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī

Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn was a native of Bukhāra. In the reign of Sulṭān Mo'iz-u'd-dīn he, with his father, 'Atāullā Maḥmūd migrated to India and settled in Delhi. There he took to studies and very soon got a high repute. He was appointed as a judge in Nagore. But after a mere three years service he resigned his post and started for Baghdād for his spiritual development. In Baghdād he joined the order of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī as a disciple. Under the inspiring guidance of his director (*pīr*) Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, within a year, traversed the mysteries of the mystical path. His director bestowed upon him his garment (*Khirqah*)¹ and granted his *Khilāfat-Namah* to him.² It was a strange coincidence that Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, also happened to be in Baghdād in those days. Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, with his frequent visits to Bakhtiyār Kākī, formed a close tie of friendship with him. From Baghdād Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn went to Medina, and after a stay of three years at Medina, he again returned to Delhi, where he passed the remaining period of his life in the spiritual company of Khwāja Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī.³

Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn was a man of versatile genius. He wrote many books on mystic literature in which he advanced the cause of mysticism. The most famous books on the subject are *Ṭāla'i-i-Shamus* and *Risālah Majmū'ah-i-Ishqiyah*. *Ṭāla'i-i-Shamus* deals with the subtle mystical problems and the interpretation of the term "He is" (*Hūwa*). 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq has referred to this book in connection with the life of Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn in his famous book, *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār*.⁵ Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, the outstanding personality of *Chishtī* order, estimates the mystical writings of Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, in the following words :

"The mystical writings of Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn include both, what I have read and what I have not read."⁶

Besides *Risālah Majmū'ah-i-Ishqiyah* such authentic books, as *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā* and *Akḥbār-u'l-Akhyār* throw much light on the life and thought of Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī. We give some important religious and philosophical ideas of Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī below :



Tomb of Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī



Conception of God

God, states Qaḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, is Absolute. He is not derived from anything. Because a derived thing is not free from the association with others, and a thing which is not free from association with others, is not absolute. Absolute is that which cannot be qualified by any attributes. For attribution implies the exchange of the essence of the thing so qualified with its attributes; and it is in-applicable in case of God.⁷ God is an independent being. He does not depend on His attributes. He is unknown. Nothing can be indicated in connection with the essence of God, because indication is either related to human senses (*Ḥis*) or imagination (*Waham*) or intellect (*'Aql*). The domains of all these, the sense, the imagination and the intellect, are limited; and God, being unlimited, cannot be estimated by the limited being. Hence, the human senses, imagination and intellect can convey nothing to us about the essence of God.⁸ Further, the conveying of news breeds plurality; but God is an absolute Unity.⁹ Hence, the essence of God is unknown and unknowable.

From the above statements of Qaḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn we should not infer that he denies the attributes of God or reduces the attributes of God to His essence, like *Mu'tazilites*. God, says Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, possesses attributes; but the attributes of God do not have priority over the essence of God, because attributes can be known only with the help of modes; but God is free from all sorts of modes.¹⁰ Hence, attributes of God are over and above the Being (*Dhāt*) of God. The perfection of God is not based on His attributes; God is perfect in Himself.¹¹

Thus, we find that Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn differs from *Mu'tazilites*, and agrees with *Ash'arites*, with regard to the attributes of God.

Mu'tazilites hold that God has no attributes beyond His being. His essence is self-contained and requires no separate attributes.¹² But on the contrary, attributes of God, according to *Ash'arites*, are co-eternal with Him. They have their separate existence from the Essence of God.¹³ Thus, according to Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, the station¹⁴ (*Maqām*) and the miracle¹⁵ (*Karāmat*) of the saints, the intoxication¹⁶ (*Sukr*) and sobriety¹⁷ (*Ṣaḥw*), the annihilation¹⁸ (*Fanā*) and the subsistence¹⁹ (*Baqā*), etc., are not the modes of God.²⁰

Attributes of God

God possesses the attributes of majesty (*Jalāl*) and beauty (*Jamāl*).²¹ Terms such as longing²² (*Shawq*) and pleasure (*Dhawq*),²³ joy (*Farḥa*) and

sorrow (*Huzn*), happiness (*Aish*) and anger (*Taish*) have been derived from these two attributes. Muslims are the manifestation of the 'beauty' of God, while infidels are the expression of the 'majesty' of God. Term 'muslim' symbolises the spirit (*Rūh*) but the term 'infidel' represents the lower soul (*Nafs*). The disposition of the lower soul is meanness, while delicacy is the nature of the spirit (*Rūh*). Heaven is the symbol of the praised qualities and is the resting place of spirits, but Hell indicates the mean qualities and is the abode of lower souls. Human heart (*Qulb*) is midway between the spirit and the lower soul. Sometimes it inclines towards the spirit which brings the bounties of God: and sometimes it turns towards the lower soul which causes the wrath of God.²⁴ The other attributes of God are 'Servantship'²⁵ (*'Ubūdiyyat*) and Lordship (*Rubūbiyyat*).²⁶ The human being are the partakers of these attributes of God. Whenever the attribute of 'Lordship' overpowered prophet Moḥammad, whatever he said at that time was called the word of God (*Kalam-i-Allāh*); but whatever he uttered at the stage of 'servantship', that was known as tradition (the sayings of prophet Moḥammad). Thus, *Jibri'el* represented the personality who was the news bearer of the state of 'Lordship' to prophet Moḥammad.²⁷ Intoxication (*Sukr*) and Sobriety (*Ṣaḥw*) also come within the domain of attributes of God. God sometimes manifests Himself and His manifestation is the result of His attribute of 'Sobriety'; and sometimes He conceals Himself, and His concealment is due to the attribute of 'Intoxication'. In like manner, the day of judgement is the intoxication of God, while creation is the sobriety of God; death is the intoxication of God, but life is the sobriety of God.²⁸

God has neither any beginning nor any end. But a reflection upon the creation of God unquestionably brings home to us the fact that every created part has some point of beginning and end. The beginning and end of the parts imply the beginning and end of the whole. Now these contradictory qualities of beginning and end resolve into unity in the absoluteness of God. God is the beginning and God is the end.²⁹ He is the beginning in respect of His potentialities but He is the end in respect of His actualities. He is eternal³⁰ and has the necessary existence.³¹ All the other existences are possible and are based upon the existence of God. He is beyond the limitation of time and space.³² *Qur'ān* defines God, "Say: "He is *Allāh*, the one ! *Allāh*, the eternally Besought of all ! He begotteth not nor was begotten. And there is none comparable unto Him."³³

God has a personal relationship with his creatures. He loves His creatures and His creatures love Him. His creatures absolutely anni-

hilate themselves in His personality. But this annihilation of the creatures in God does not indicate the Union³⁴ (*Jama'*) of the creatures with the creator (God) as it has been conceived by pantheism. Union between God and His creatures is inconceivable. It is impossible that God should be incarnated in His created beings or made one (*Itihād*) with His works.³⁵ There is the possibility of *waṣūl*³⁶ only, which is not the union but is the subjective state of the lover (creature) towards the beloved (God).

According to Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, separation (*Tafriqā*)³⁷ from God, at the stage of *Waṣūl* is the deviation from the right path. It was the stage at which Abū-Yazīd said, "Glory to me, how great is my majesty", and Maṣṣūr uttered, "I am the Truth."³⁸ Hence, the stage at which 'I am' (*Anā*) should be uttered, the utterance of 'He is' (*Hūwa*) is the deviation from the truth; and the stage at which 'He is' (*Hūwa*) should be uttered, the utterance of 'I am' (*Anā*) is absurd. If the utterer at the stage of 'He is the good' utters 'I am the good', he ruins himself, because he utters 'I am' instead of 'He is'. If Ḥusain Maṣṣūr had uttered 'He is' instead of 'I am', he would have been ruined; but because he uttered 'I am' instead of 'He is', he was elevated infinitely in the spiritual realm.³⁹

Thus, Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, having discarded the principle of unity between God and His creatures, cut the gordian knot of pantheism and presented before us the conception of personal God.

Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī puts forward the cosmological argument for the existence of God. He says that the order and the perfection of the universe convey to us the fact of the existence of God. He refers to the *Qur'ānic* story of Prophet Ibrahim; which runs as follows :

"(Remember) when Abraham said unto his father Azar: Takest thou idols for Gods? Lo! I see thee and thy folk in error manifest.

Thus did we show Abraham the kingdom of the heavens and the earth that he might be of those possessing certainty: When the night grew dark upon him he beheld a star. He said: This is my Lord. But when it set, he said: I love not things that set. And when he saw the moon uprising, he exclaimed: This is my Lord. But when it set, he said: Unless my Lord guide me, I surely shall become one of the folk who are astray. And when he saw the sun uprising, he cried: This is my Lord! This is greater! And when it set he exclaimed: Oh my people! Lo! I am free from all that ye associate (with Him). Lo! I have turned my face toward Him who created the heavens and the earth, as one by nature upright, and I am not of the idolaters."⁴⁰

The story signifies that Prophet Abraham, from the transitoriness of the sun and moon, turned towards the eternal Being. Similarly we find that the causal argument for the existence of God, based on the imperfection and the transitoriness of the worldly objects also leads us towards the perfect and eternal Being.

Love of God

Love of God (*'Ishq*) is the core of the philosophy of Qāḍī-Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī. Love (*'Ishq*), says Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, is the cause of the creation of the universe. It is love due to which God is creating the universe at every moment. The moment it (*'Ishq*) ceases, the day of judgment will follow. But it is a great mystery which cannot be explained by reason.⁴¹

Love (*'Ishq*) is a tree having its two branches; '*Āshiqī*' (the love making) and '*M'ashūqī*' (the state of being loved). The attributes of 'Lordship' and the 'Servantship' are the fruits of this tree.⁴² Hence, the lover (creature) and beloved (God), although two different terms, are one in essence. One who brings duality between them is always in conflict; one who perceives unity between them is silent; while one who finds neither unity nor duality between them is in intoxication.⁴³

This statement of Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn seems to lead us to the pantheistic conception of God. But it is not so. The criterion of love of God, for Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, is the complete annihilation of the self into the personality of God.⁴⁴ Thus, after the self-annihilation there remains nothing for the lover except the existence of his beloved (God). And, therefore, the self-annihilation of the lover does not efface the distinction between the creature and the creator. Creature and the creator remain at their respective places.

Love (*'Ishq*) is of two kinds: (1) Real love (*'Ishq M'anawī*) (2) Formal love (*'Ishq Ṣūrī*). Real love may rightly be understood as the 'Absolute love' which is the substance, while the 'formal love' is its attribute. To be a true lover it is but indispensable to attain absolute love. Absolute love is the perception of unity in the midst of diversity. A lover, having the absolute love attaches equal value to good and evil, heaven and hell, mosque and temple, etc., because his attention is fixed upon his beloved (God) alone. He remembers nothing except God, and in the remembrance of God there is no question of heaven and hell, good and bad, etc.

A man of love never dies as it has been stated, 'A man whose heart lives on love, never dies.'⁴⁵ But it goes against our experience.

Qur'ān categorically says, "Every soul will taste of death."⁴⁶ Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn offers the following explanation of death. Death, according to him, is of two kinds; the death of the general people and the death of the chosen ones. Death for the common people, is the cause of separation from God. But death, for the chosen ones, i.e., the men of love, is the essence of life, for it unites the lover with his beloved (God). Death, says Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, bridges the gulf existing between the lover and the beloved (god).⁴⁷ In reality, death for the lover of God is the absorption of his self in the remembrance of God. Thus, when a lover absolutely loses himself in God, he attains a new life at every moment because God reveals Himself to him, every moment, in a new grandeur and beauty and that unique beauty imparts a new life to the lover of God.⁴⁸

A lover of God is the mirror of his beloved (God) and the beloved is the root of the existence of the lover. Every action which proceeds from the lover is in reality the action of the beloved and the action of the beloved is the essence of love. The lover, in the deep absorption of love, forgets his own self, and the two branches of love (the love making and the state of being loved) merge together and become one in the same love. Later on, there is no rest for the lover because the pain of separation between the lover (Creature) and the beloved (God) is the essence of love. Thus, for the lover of God there always remains an occasion for aspiration for the nearness to God, and this aspiration is endless.⁴⁹

For the love of God, says Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn, the observance of the laws of *Sharī'at* is unavoidable. The goal of human life is the absorption in God. The soul of man has been created for His nearness, his heart has been created for His love, and his body, for the service of God⁵⁰. Whatever is connected with the tongue is called *Sharī'at*.⁵¹ Whatever is connected with heart (*Qulb*) is *Ṭarīqat*⁵² and whatever is connected with the inward feeling (or experience), is called *Ḥaqīqat*⁵³. Hence, without the observance of laws of *Sharī'at* love of God can not be attained, and without the love of God state of union with God is impossible.⁵⁴

Love of God furnishes immortality to faith (*Imān*), but the eternity of faith lies in the annihilation of all the things other than God, and the annihilation of all the things other than God is based on self-annihilation. Hence, annihilation of the self is the pivot of the love of God.⁵⁵ To attain to this stage one should die before death as expressed in the following saying, "Die before your death." A man, before stepping into the realm of reality and the love of God, should first know the reality of the formula, 'There is none worthy of worship

except God ! Without the complete knowledge of this formula, the true spirit of *Islām* remains hidden from the lover; and without grasping the true spirit of *Islām*, the observance of *Sharī'at* is difficult; and without the observance of *Sharī'at* the love of God is impossible, as explained above. Thus, the first step for the knowledge of this formula is the utterance of the formula from the lips. The second step is to grasp its meaning, and the third step is to be one with it.⁵⁶ The utterance of the formula signifies the declaration of the turning of the heart from all the things other than God and the absorption of the self in the remembrance of God. After this profession it should be cognised that universe has no independent existence. It is only God who exists in Himself. The existence of the universe depends on the sweet will of God.

Thus, a man should purify his heart of all the human infirmities and should remove from it all the traces of things other than God. These traces of what is other than God are the impediments in the way of love of God as the *Koh* (Mountain) was an impediment in the way of *kohkun* (Furhād).⁵⁷ After the complete purification of the heart the divine qualities should be implanted in it. Hence, it has been said that the lover of God at first perceives himself in God, and later on he finds God in himself.⁵⁸ This realization of the lover makes him immortal with his beloved (God).⁵⁹ The life of the seeker of God may be compared to the salt crystals and the object of his search, (God) to water. As the crystals of salt dissolve in water, so the seeker of God annihilates himself in God.⁶⁰ But this stage can neither be attained with mortification nor with prayer; neither with fast, nor with gnosis; it depends absolutely on the grace of God; as it has been said in the *Qur'ān*; "He selecteth for His mercy whom He will. *Allāh* is of infinite bounty."⁶¹

Creation of Universe

Shaikh Hamīd-u'd-dīn offers a theory for the creation of the universe. He says emphatically that this universe is the creation of God.⁶² God has created many regions; i.e., *Hāhūt*, *Bāhūt*, *Lāhūt*, *Jabrūt*, *Malakūt* and *Nāsūt*.⁶³ The proposition "I was a hidden treasure" (*كنت كز مخفياً*) refers to *Hāhūt*, "then I loved" (*فأحببت*) refers to *Bāhūt*, "so that I may be known" (*أنا عرف*) refers to *Lāhūt*, and "then I created the creation" (*فخلق الخلق*) refers to *Jabrūt*, *Malakūt* and *Nāsūt*.⁶⁴ *Nāsūt* is the region of unity in the multiplicity. It is the sum total of the created beings. Whatever was dormant in the will as unity, was manifested

in the universe in the shape of multiplicity.⁶⁵ *Bāhūt*, *Hāhūt*, and *Murhuyat* (مرهویت) are the stages of the absolute annihilation of the self in the personality of God. The travellers of these regions get the inspiration from God and access into His secrets. These stages are devoid of any mark. According to Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn the highest spiritual development at this stage is to be one with God; but to call oneself God, at the stage of self-consciousness, is the worst type of infidelity.⁶⁶

CHAPTER VI

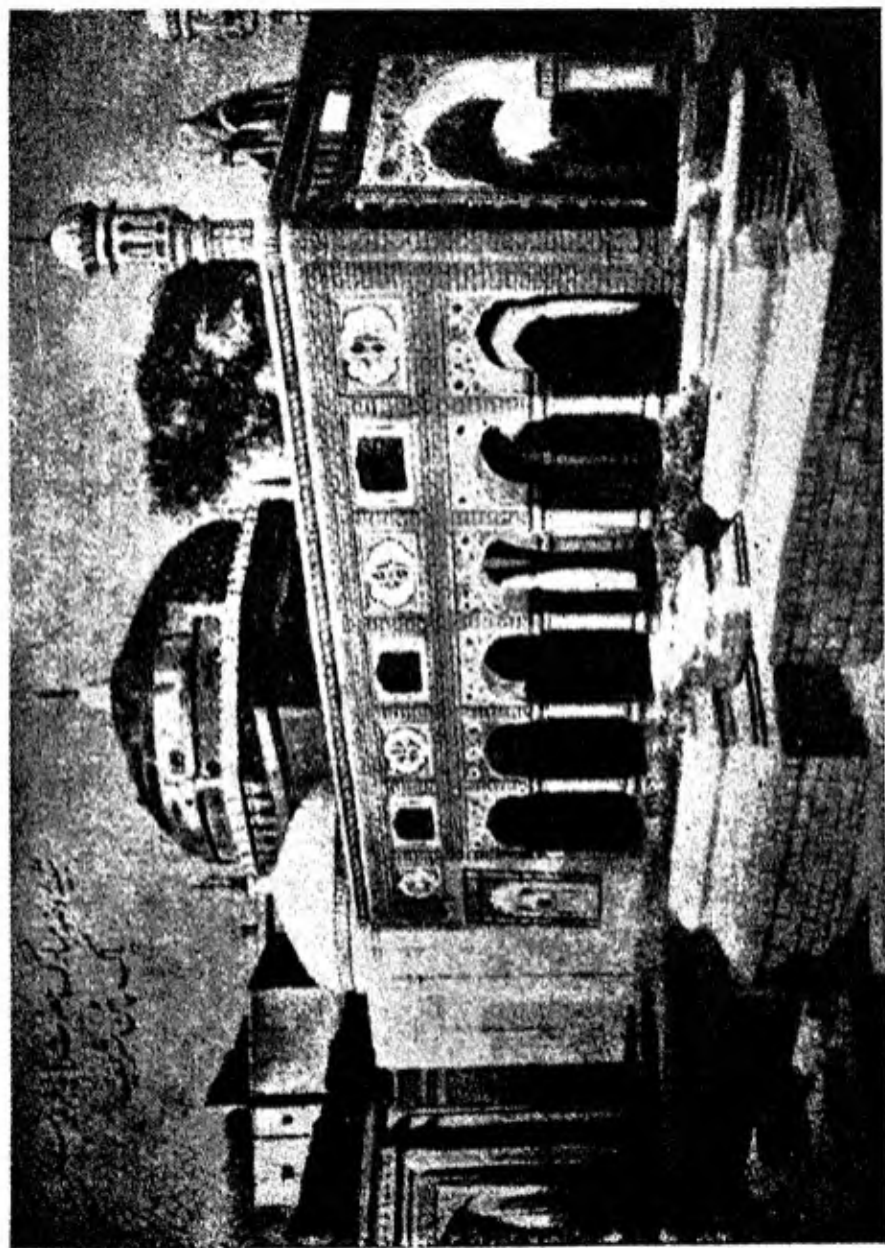
Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Mas'ūd, popularly known as Bābā Farīd, an eminent mystic of medieval India, was born in 1175 A. D. at Kahtwāl and died in 1265 A. D. at the age of ninety five, in Ajodhan¹—present Pakpattan. He was a man of scholarly tastes and religious bent of mind. He completed his religious education very early in Multan² and adopted in his youth a life of vigils, penitences and prayers which continued upto his last breath. He completed his course of mystic discipline at the feet of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn who granted him his Khilāfat-Nāmāh and appointed him as his successor after his death.³

Bābā Farīd led a life of *faqr* (poverty) and *tawakkul* (Trust in God). He frequently observed fasts and his *ifṭār* (The food taken at the end of a day of fasting) was only a cup of syrup, half or two third of which was distributed among his companions.⁴ His character was the true mirror of his conduct. He preached what he practised. There was unity between his thought, words and deeds. His public life was in complete harmony with his private life.

Bābā Farīd's monastery (*Khānqāh*) was open to all irrespective of caste or creed. Rich and poor, officials and non-officials, old and young were received in the same way.⁵ A stream of visitors flowed to the monastery everyday, but Bābā Farīd never tired of it. He attended to the problem of every visitor individually and tried his best to remedy his grievances. His long life of ninety five years was devoted to the upliftment of humanity from sin and superstition. He furnished the society of his day with an infinite moral force which removed the social, ideological and linguistic barriers between the various cultural groups of India.⁶

Delhi, at the time of Bābā Farīd, was a great centre of Muslim culture. Many refugees from central Asia had settled there. They generally aspired for mundane honour and position. Allurements of court life had drawn them to Delhi. Distinguished theologians, such as Shaikh Badr-u'd-dīn Gaznavī, Qādī Minhāj-u's-Sirāj, Maulānā Nur Turk, Sayyid Quṭb-u'd-dīn and others had been drawn to a life of



Tomb of Shaikh Farid-u'd-din Ganj-i-Shakar

politics. Bābā Farīd too, for a short time, breathed in that atmosphere. Soon his fame travelled extensively. The author of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* writes that after the Friday prayer people used to kiss the hands of Bābā Farīd in overwhelming numbers.⁷ But Bābā Farīd was not hankering after worldly honour. He was in search of some solitary place for his self training. Therefore he left Delhi and migrated to Hansi.⁸ At Hansi, he used to deliver sermons. But he could not escape the public eye even there. So he shifted to Kahtwāl and from Kahtwāl, he came to Ajodhan where he settled permanently.⁹ Very soon, in Ajodhan, the period of self discipline came to an end and the seclusion (*Uzlat*) was changed into association (*Ṣuḥbat*). The doors of the monastery were opened and every one was allowed to visit him without any discrimination. Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn devoted his long life there to enhance the moral and spiritual culture of society. His humanity, sublimity of character and spiritual calibre helped in spreading the fame of *chishtī* order to distant places. It crossed the boundaries of Punjāb and reached every corner of India.¹⁰

For the expansion of the order and moral uplift of mankind, Bābā Farīd trained a group of disciples who were known as *Khalīfāhs* among whom Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā's name is outstanding. They made the mystic cult popular among the Indian masses.

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn is not himself the author of any book. It has been said that *Rahat-u'l-qulūb* is the collection of the sayings (*Mulfūẓāt*) of Bābā Farīd written by Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. But this work is a pure and simple fabrication.¹¹ Authentic books such as *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, and *Siyar-u'l-Auliā* bring home to us a series of facts about the life and thought of Bābā Farīd. I have tried to summarise his thought in the following pages.

Conception of God

Bābā Farīd was a man of religion. He always conformed to the laws of *Sharī'at* and never ventured to transgress its limit. Upto his last moment, he continued to offer his prayer regularly. During the night his soul was to depart for the world beyond he repeated his prayers thrice.¹² He observed continuous fasts and laid great emphasis on this mode of discipline.¹³ In course of instructions he said to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn that fasting is half of the journey for the attainment of one's goal. And the remaining half comprises prayer (*Ṣalāṭ*), pilgrimage to *Ka'aba* (*Hujj*), etc. For him, religious knowledge and learning were a prerequisite to spiritual discipline. Hence, his conception of God is

deeply saturated with religious consciousness.

God, for him, was a living Person, having objective existence. He believed in personal bond between man and his God. He always acted with the conviction that God is before him. The verse, "I die for thee and I live for thee"¹⁴ which he often used to recite, when all alone, clearly reflects his attitude. He depended absolutely on God. He did not want to be oblivious of Him even for a single moment. Once he was walking for a little distance with the aid of a stick. All of a sudden, he threw away the stick and became restless. When the reason was asked, he replied that he was reprimanded because he was depending on something other than God.¹⁵

God, for Bābā Farīd, was omnipotent. It was his firm belief that He was the only bestower.¹⁶ Recommending the case of a certain man to Sultān Ghiyath-u'd-dīn Balban, he wrote,

"I put his case first before God and then before you. If you award him something, you will be thanked for it because you are the agent for this award; but God, in the real sense, is real bestower. If you refuse it, then you are helpless in this matter, because God is the only refuser."¹⁷

He, in the *Khilāfat-Nāmāh* which he gave to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, says, "God alone deserves all praises. He is the First and the Last, the Manifest and the Hidden. Whomsoever He elevates none can bring down and whomsoever He throws down none can elevate. None can bring to light what He has concealed and none can conceal whatever He has revealed."¹⁸

The above mentioned extract from the *Khilāfat-Nāmāh* shows that God according to Bābā Farīd, has Absolute Freedom in His actions. He has neither any compulsion nor any restraint on Him. Hence, it is clear that Bābā Farīd's God is not an abstract logical entity having no personality of its own. Nor is it the God of the Deists who after having created the universe retired from it. But his God is the God of the *Qur'ān* and the traditions. He has objective reality, having a personality. He possesses absolute freedom. And He is the only sustainer of His creatures. His creatures have a close relation with Him. They love Him and endeavour to attain to Him.

Love of God

The Summum Bonum of life for Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, is the attainment of God, as expressed in the verse, "In both the worlds, thou alone art the object that I cherish."¹⁹ For the attainment of this

ultimate end, he prescribes the path of 'Love'. He attached so much value to love of God that he used to greet his visitors with these words, "May God give you pain (*dard*)²⁰ of love". He held great admiration for the individual who was intoxicated with the love of God. He called such a persons '*Faqīr*' (mystic-durvesh).

The learned men ('*Ulemā*'), according to him, are nobler than the common people, but the *faqīrs* are the noblest of all. The *faqīrs* occupy the same position in relation to the learned men ('*Ulemā*'), which the full moon occupies in the constellation of stars.²¹ He laid down the following characteristics of a *faqīr*:—

- (1) A *faqīr* purifies everything, but nothing can make him dirty.²²
- (2) When he puts on any new clothes he takes them as his shroud.²³
- (3) He does not covet wealth. If any one lives in the hope of riches, he is an avaricious man.²⁴

Ethical Teachings

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn vehemently criticised excessive devotions to worldly life. According to him worldliness is an unrecognised calamity.²⁵ A man who busies himself exclusively with feeding and clothing himself is the meanest of all people.²⁶ Misery is the by-product of mundane aspiration. So one should not pay undue attention to the demands of the physical self; the more one satisfies it, the more it demands.²⁷

He forbids his disciples from indulging in pride and arrogance. Pride, according to him, turns the whole world into an enemy. Hence, a man should beware of pride. Particularly, he should not take pride in committing sin, and should not make his heart a plaything of the devil.²⁸

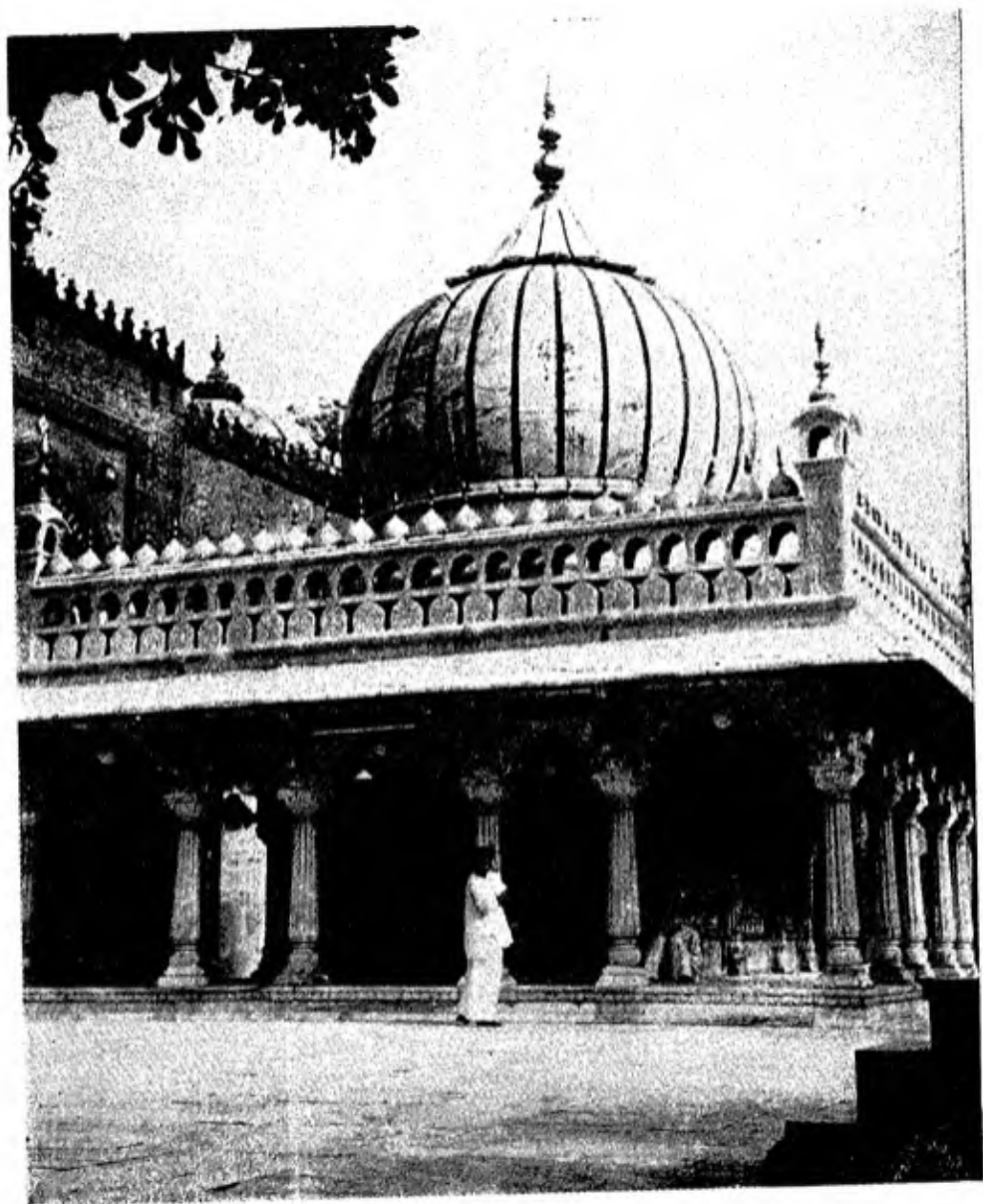
Knowledge and celibacy, according to Bābā Farīd, are the divine gift for the individual. A man should endeavour to attain knowledge. But knowledge can not be attained without effort. Mere desire to attain it (knowledge) does not make a man learned. Had it been so no one in the world would have been illiterate. So one should not mind even humiliation and disgrace in the way of attaining knowledge.²⁹

The virtue of charity was ingrained in the nature of Bābā Farīd. Whatever unasked gifts (*futuḥ*) came to his monastery, he at once

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distributed them among his visitors. The same spirit of charity, he wanted to inculcate in his disciples. His discussion of *zakāt* (alms) throws interesting light on his views, on this issue. *Zakāt*, according to him is of three kinds: *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at*, *Zakāt-i-Ṭarīqat* and *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat*. *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* consists in giving 5 *dirhams* out of 20; *Zakāt-i-Ṭarīqat* means that one keeps 5 *dirhams* and gives 15 *dirhams*; *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat* means that all is given away and nothing is retained.²⁰ He prescribed *Zakāt-i-Sharī'at* for those who became his disciples for spiritual betterment, yet carried on their worldly pursuits. But for his *Khalīfāhs* he prescribed *Zakāt-i-Haqīqat*²¹. Thus, the motif of Bābā Farīd was that one should not live for one's self but for others. So he instructed his *Khalīfāhs* to give away their entire property in the service of humanity at large.





Tomb of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliā

CHAPTER VII

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā

Moḥammad bin Aḥmad Dānyāl bin 'Alī Bukhārī, popularly known as Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā, the most outstanding personality of Medieval India was born in Badāun on 9th October, 1238 A. D. and died in 1325 A. D.¹ His ancestral abode was Bukhārā, but his grand father, due to the invasion of Chāngēz Khān, came over to Lahore which is the birth place of both his father and mother. After some time, this family shifted to Badāun where they settled permanently. The father of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn could not stay with them for long. The Shaikh was just a child of five, when his father died. It was his mother, Bibī Zulaikhā who brought him up. Bibī Zulaikhā was a lady of fervent piety. She was his first teacher and her influence proved the most lasting. It was she who kindled the spark of Divine love in him, which later moulded his entire being and dominated his thought and action. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, even in his later life, used to visit the tomb of his mother whenever in distress to attain solace.²

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn received his early education in Ḥadīth (Tradition), Tafsīr (Exegesis), Sharf, Naḥv and Mantiq (logic) at home. Very soon he became well versed in all of them. He left for Delhi for his higher studies at the age of sixteen. There he steadily devoted himself to his studies for four years at the feet of eminent scholars of the capital and earned a position of distinction in the academic circle.³

He developed an attachment to Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar very early in life, at the age of twelve.⁴ At Delhi, in the company of Shaikh Nujīb-u'd-dīn, the brother and Khalīfah of Bābā Farīd, this attachment matured.⁵ And one day he left for Ajodhan—present Pakpattan to visit the great Shaikh. The great Shaikh welcomed him with the couplet, "O you, the fire of whose separation has burnt hearts and the torrent of whose love has ruined souls."⁶

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn was initiated by Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn in 1257 A. D. After his initiation he inquired from his master whether he should give up his studies and devote himself exclusively to super-erogatory prayers. Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn replied that he did not wish

any one to discontinue his studies. So, he should carry on both of them and finally devote himself to that whichever would get the upper hand.⁷ Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn was overwhelmed by the life of devotion to God. He submitted himself to the care of Bābā Farīd and under his inspired guidance traversed the difficult stages and states of mystic path. He visited Ajodhan only thrice during the life time of his spiritual guide.⁸ He paid his last visit to his master in 1265 A. D. The Shaikh showered many blessings on him and said, "I have given you both the Worlds. Go and take the kingdom of Hindustān."⁹ Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn granted his *Khilāfat Namāh* to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, and a few days before his death, sent to him the mystic mantle, prayer carpet and staff through Sayyid Moḥammad.¹⁰

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn passed the early days of his life in extremely straitened circumstances. Though the commodities of life were cheap, but the Shaikh had no money to buy them. His mother and sister were with him and all of them were in the same condition. Sometimes they passed three days and nights continuously without meal.¹¹ But these trials and tribulations could not dissuade him from the path that he had chosen for himself. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn says that the nature of his mother was such that when there was nothing to eat in the house, she would say that they were the guests of God that day. He was always yearning for such a day because that had come to have a special interest and pleasure for him.¹² The father of the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* narrates that Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn and his companions were leading a life of abject poverty. There was fast after fast. Some of the companions of the Shaikh became annoyed with this state of life. In the meantime, Sultān Jalāl-u'd-dīn sent something by way of present (*futūḥ*) and proposed to the Shaikh that he should accept a village for his expenses. The Shaikh rejected this proposal. Being aware of the refusal of the Shaikh some of his attendants and companions, who were tortured by the cravings of an empty stomach, requested him to accept the offer of the Sultān. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn invited his close associates to discuss with them whether he should accept the offer of the Sultān or not. They all unanimously requested him to reject the offering of the Sultān otherwise they would not even take water from his house. Hearing this agreeable answer, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn became immensely pleased with them and said that he did not care for others; he was only in need of them. They should help him in the affairs of his religion in future and that was what was expected of them.¹³

This anecdote indicates that Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, even in

extremely indigent circumstances, stuck to his principles and allowed the storms to rage round him. Later on, the circumstances changed and his life showed some prosperity. The doors of the monastery (*Khānqāh*) were thrown open for the people. A stream of visitors flowed to the monastery everyday, with enormous *futūḥ* (gift or present unasked for).¹⁴ But this affluence left the *Shaikh* unaffected. He despised riches and worldly goods. He used to weep on seeing the presents that poured in daily and tried his best to distribute them immediately among the poor. On every Friday, before the congregational prayers, all the things were distributed among the poor and the store room was emptied of all things.¹⁵

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn led a life of extreme devotion and penitence. These practices not only purified his inner life but also opened his soul to the indwelling power of God. According to the statement of Sayyid Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn devoted the best period of his youth, for thirty years together, to prayers, vigils and self-mortification. Even in his old age, vigils and prayers, instead of showing any decline, increased all the more. At the age of eighty, he performed his daily prayers with congregation five times a day. He observed continuous fasts and his *ifṭār* was sometimes a bread or half of it, sometimes a little quantity of rice and sometimes nothing. He kept awake all through the night, absorbed in prayers and meditation.¹⁶

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn once said to *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn that he would be a tree under whose soothing shade people would rest.¹⁷ And true to the expectations of his master, he, for about half a century, devoted himself to the stupendous task of lifting up humanity from the pitfalls and quagmires of sin and superstition, with remarkable zeal and singleness of purpose. His greatness was the greatness of a loving heart. He says that he was given a book in which it was written that one should provide comfort for the living beings because the heart of a person is dwelling place of the secrets of God.¹⁸ True to this instruction he, days and nights, attended to the misery stricken people, assuaged their suffering, gave them heart and provided strength to their shattered nerves. His sympathy gave them the courage they needed to face the ordeals of life. People brought to him problems of different nature, such as harassment by the Government officers, suffering from diseases, fulfilment of the wishes, etc. The heart of the *Shaikh* went out in sympathy to everyone. They found spiritual solace in his company.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn was a living embodiment of those moral

principles and precepts which he taught to the people. There was the force of his example behind every ethical principle which he expounded. He was the cynosure of public eyes. People visited him from far and near and basked in the sun-shine of his spiritual favours. His visitors included all sorts of men, Divines, Shaikhs, Durveishes, officials, ministers, members of royal family, merchants and common men. The Shaikh used to talk to them according to their abilities to understand the spiritual problems. Apparently he seemed to be busy with them but internally he was absorbed in the remembrance of God.¹⁹ No visitor, whether he belonged to the rural or to the urban area, returned from his monastery without money or clothes or some other present.²⁰ His monastery was a heaven of peace and love in a world of strifes and conflicts.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn possessed all those qualities of head and heart which are indispensable in building up an organization. He possessed a deep understanding of human nature combined with clarity of thought and intuitive intelligence. Numerous anecdotes have been cited by the author of Siyar-u'l-Auliya in this connection. The Chishtī order reached its zenith under his able guidance. His disciples set up Chishtī mystic centres in practically every important part of country. Baranī has given a detailed account of the popularity of the Shaikh which may be quoted here in full.

He writes: "Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn had opened wide the doors of his discipleship ...and admitted (all sorts of people into his discipline) nobles and plebians, rich and poor, learned and illiterate, citizens and villagers, soldiers and warriors, free-men and slaves;²¹ and these people refrained from many improper things, because they considered themselves disciples of the Shaikh; if any of them committed a sin, he confessed it and vowed allegiance anew. The general public showed an inclination to religion and prayer; men and women, young and old, shop-keepers and servants, children and slaves, all came to say their prayers. Most of these who frequented the Shaikh's company regularly said their Chāshī²² and Ishrāq prayers. Many platforms with thatched roofs over them were constructed on the way from the city to Ghiyāthpūr; wells were dug, water-vessels were kept, carpets were spread, and a servant and a ḥāfiẓ were stationed at every platform so that the people going to the Shaikh may have not difficulty in saying their supererogatory prayers. Owing to regard for the Shaikh's discipleship all talk of sinful acts had disappeared from the people. There were no topics of conversation among most people except inquiries about the prayers of Chasht, Awābīn and

Tahajjud. How many genuflexions (*rak'ats*) they contained? What invocations (*du'ā*) are to follow each prayer? How many *rak'ats* does the Shaikh say every night; and what part of the *Qur'ān* in every *rak'at* and what *darūds* (Blessing on the Prophet)? What was the custom of Bābā Farīd and Shaikh Bakhtiyār? Such were the questions asked by the new disciples of the old. They inquired about fasting and prayer and about reducing their diet. Many persons took to committing *Qur'ān* to memory. The new disciples had no other occupation but prayer and worship, aloofness from the world, the study of books on devotion and the lives of saints. And God forbid that they should ever talk or hear about the worldly affairs or ever turn towards the house of worldly men, for such things they considered to be entirely sinful and wrong. Perseverance in supererogatory prayer alone had gone to an extent that at the *Sultān's* court many *amīrs*, clerks, guards, and royal slaves had become the Shaikh's disciples, said their *Chāsh*t and *Ishrāq* prayers and fasted on the 13th, 14th and 15th of every month ('Ayyām-i-Bid) as well as during the first ten days of *Dhīl-Ḥijjah*. There was no quarter of the city in which a gathering of the pious was not held every month or after every twenty days with mystic songs that moved them to tears. Many disciples of the Shaikh finished the *tarāwīḥ*²³ prayers in their houses or in the mosques. Such of them as were persevering passed the whole night standing in their prayers throughout the month of *Ramaḍān*, on Fridays and during the days of the *Hajj*. The higher disciples stood in the prayers for a third or three-fourth of the night throughout the years, while others said their morning prayers with the ablution of their '*Ishā*' prayer. Some of the disciples had, by now reached to eminence in spiritual power through this education.

Owing to the influence of the Shaikh, most of the Muslims of this country took an inclination to mysticism, prayers and aloofness from the world, and came to have a faith in the Shaikh. This faith was shared by 'Alā-u'd-dīn and his family. The hearts of men having become virtuous by good deeds, the very name of wine, gambling and other forbidden things never came to anyone's lips. Sins and abominable vices appeared to people as bad as infidelity. Out of regard for one another the Muslims refrained from open usury and regrating (*iḥtikār*), while the shop-keepers, from fear, gave up speaking lies, using false weights and deceiving the ignorant. Most of the scholars and learned men, who frequented the Shaikh's company, applied themselves to books on devotion and mysticism. The books, *Qūt-u'l-Qulūb*,²⁴ *Iḥyā'-u'l-'Ulūm*²⁵ and its translation,²⁶

'*Awārif*²⁷, *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb*²⁸, *Sharḥ-i-Ta'arruf*²⁹, *Risālāh-i-Qushairī*³⁰, *Mirḡād-u'l-'Ibād*,³¹ *Maktūbāt-i-'Ain-u'l-Quḍāt*,³² and the *Lawā'ih* and *Lawāma* of Qādī Hamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī found many purchasers, as also did the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* of Amīr Ḥasan owing to the sayings of the *Shaikh* which it contains. People asked the book-sellers about books of devotion. No handkerchief was seen without a tooth brush (*miswāk*) or a comb tied to it. Owing to the great number of purchasers, the price of water and leathern vessels became high. In short God had created the *Shaikh* as a peer of *Shaikh* Junaid³³ and *Shaikh* Bāyazīd³⁴ in these later days and adorned him with that divine love which cannot be understood by human wisdom. The virtues of a *Shaikh*—and the art of leading men (in the mystic path)—found their fulfilment and their final Consummation in him".³⁵

Attitude of *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya towards the state

The period of *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn marks, on the one hand, the rising power of *Sulṭān* Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban and *Sulṭān* 'Allā-u'd-dīn Khiljī and, on the other hand, the downfall of both the slave and *Khiljī* dynasties. He saw the coronation of more than half a dozen rulers; but he witnessed this scene from a judicious distance and never participated in it. He never except for once, visited the court of any *Sulṭān*; he even refused to grant interviews to them. The reason was that he did not view the government service as the service of *Islām*. Most of the rulers in those days were weltering into the mud and mire of sordid materialism. They were fighting for their own aspirations and ambitions. They made their own laws instead of following *Sharī'at*. Example of *Sulṭān* Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban makes this fact clear.

Sulṭān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Balban was punctual in his prayers and fasts. He even did not miss his *Tahjjud* prayer. He continued his '*Virā*' and '*Wazīfāh*' (A portion or section of the *Qur'ān* fixed for reading at a certain time) upto his last breath. He often invited scholars and divines to his lunch and discussed religious problems with them. On the death of any divine or *Shaikh* he attended his funeral prayer and gave money and clothes to his successors. But when the question of the observance of the laws of *Sharī'at* in the administration came, he ignored it. In his opinion, administration of the state was not subordinate to the *Shara'* of Jurists, but it was in accordance with the political welfare of the people. Baranī writes, "Sometimes, the opinion of the *Sulṭān*, though it was against the *Sharī'at*, was

followed". He prescribed kingship as the best device for the progress and safeguard of humanity after the apostleship. He further said that it was necessary for a king to display his worldly grandeur.³⁶

Balban was succeeded by his grandson Kaiqābād. Kaiqābād used to indulge in luxuries. His court was a place for the exhibition of the charming and sweet-voiced women. Contrary to the laws of *Islām*, he devoted his attention to the progress of fine arts.³⁷ But this state of affair could not last long. He was assassinated by some Turk and Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khilji founded the Khilji empire. Due to his mild temperament, theft, robbery and disturbances became the order of the day.³⁸ At the same time Sayyidī Maulā, a favourite disciple of Bābā Farīd was murdered with the active connivance of the *Sulṭān* and it was followed by dark thunder and storm. Famine stalked the land and the *Sulṭān's* son became mad. A general tension arose between the public and the *Sulṭān*³⁹ and ultimately he was murdered by his nephew, 'Allā-u'd-dīn.

Sulṭān 'Allā-u'd-dīn is one of the most dominating personalities in the annals of the medieval muslim period in India. He, with the help of his commander in chief, Malik Kāfūr, conquered the whole northern and southern India and thus India as a whole came within the fold of Muslim rule.⁴⁰ He patronized the religious divines and saints. According to *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, there were near about 46 religious saints in his regime, among whom Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, Maulānā Rukun-u'd-dīn, the grandson of Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā, Shaikh 'Allā-u'd-dīn, the grand-son of Bābā Farīd, Sayyid Rukun-u'd-dīn, the brother of Sayyid Tāj-u'd-dīn were the outstanding personalities. But he too did not strictly adhere to the principles of *Sharī'at*.⁴¹ He modified the laws of theft, adultery and drinking.⁴² *Sharī'at* according to him, had nothing to do with the administration of the State. The proper domain of the divines was to prescribe the rules for prayer, to settle the disputes of people, and to resolve their differences; they (divines) had no right to interfere in the administration of the State.⁴³ Administration of the State was to be entirely in the hands of the king. Thus, Sulṭān 'Allā-u'd-dīn never cared for the laws of the *Sharī'at* and followed his own conscience and discretion in connection with the state affairs.⁴⁴ Sulṭān 'Allā-u'd-dīn was succeeded by Sulṭān Quṭub-u'd-dīn. He passed his life in the company of wine and women. He was killed by Khusrō Khān. After four months, Khusrō Khan was replaced by Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq and thus the Khilji dynasty came to an end.

The accounts of the life and character of various *Sultāns* clearly indicate that they were drifting away from ideals of *Islām*. *Islām* came to ennoble man and to enable him to realise the best in him. But these governing classes were busy in conquering countries and accumulating worldly wealth and grandeur. They were bringing about a cleavage between religion and politics and thus were reducing *Islām* to the status of a private religion. Politics, being free from the control of religion, became the fostering ground for mundane aims and aspirations. Hence it was most unpalatable for a mystic to join the government service.

The task before Shaikh *Nizām-u'd-dīn* was to reform his self, to reform the human society, to bring men nearer to God and to infuse the respect for the laws of *Sharī'at* among Muslims. This task demanded, on the one hand, the unending fasts, prayers, vigils and penitences, and on the other hand, the preaching of right things among the common masses. For the fulfilment of these ends, the aloofness from kings, politics and the government services (*Shughal*) was indispensable. And Shaikh *Nizām-u'd-dīn* was most uncompromising in this respect. He adopted an attitude of contemptuous indifference towards the rulers. *Sultān* *Jalāl-u'd-dīn Khiljī* repeatedly asked him to grant an interview. He also sought the mediation of *Amīr Khusro*, the favourite disciple of the Shaikh. But it was of no avail. At last, the *Sultān* thought of paying a surprise visit to the Shaikh. Informed of the intention of the *Sultān* by *Amīr Khusro*, the Shaikh started for *Ajodhan* to avoid the meeting with the king.⁴⁶

During the reign of *Sultān 'Allā-u'd-dīn*, members of the court and the camp became the disciples of Shaikh *Nizām-u'd-dīn*. They frequently visited the monastery of the Shaikh. This popularity of the Shaikh gave birth to jealousy in some hearts, and they rushed to complain to the *Sultān* against the Shaikh. *Sultān 'Allā-u'd-dīn*, due to the rising popularity of the Shaikh suspected him of entertaining political ambitions. So, in order to test his ambition, he wrote a letter to him offering to be guided by his directions in all matters. He sent his eldest son *Khidr Khān*, a favourite disciple of the Shaikh, to deliver the letter to him. The Shaikh even did not care to open the letter. "We dervishes have nothing to do with the affairs of the state", he replied, "I have settled in a corner away from the men of the city and spend my time in praying for the *Sultān* and other *Musalmāns*. If the *Sultān* does not like this, let him tell me so. I will go and live elsewhere. God's earth is wide enough." Hearing this welcome news the heart of the *Sultān* was filled with joy. He begged pardon of the Shaikh and

implored him to grant him permission to visit him. The Shaikh replied "I am busy in praying for him in his absence, and it has a greater force."

When the Sulṭān insisted on it, the Shaikh frankly said, "My house has two doors. If the Sulṭān enters by one, I shall make my exit by the other."⁴⁶

Afterwards, the Sulṭān never insisted on meeting him. His son, Mubārak Khilji insisted on the Shaikh's presence at the court to offer him felicitations on the first of lunar month. The Shaikh boldly replied, "I am a man of retiring temperament and I go no where. Moreover it was not the practice of my elders to become the companions of kings. I should be excused."⁴⁷

This attitude of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn towards the rulers helped him a lot in the attainment of his cherished goal. With his zeal, undivided attention and singleness of purpose, he served the Chishtī order and worked for the upliftment of humanity at large, keeping away from the bustle of the court and the camp. The conquerors excited the fury of the Indian people; but the saints, with their unsullied character, purest morals and intense love for humanity cooled down their temper, and imparted a new life to them.

Outline of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn's Religious Thought

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn has not written any book⁴⁸ which propounds a systematic and coherent philosophy. Yet he was a versatile genius. The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* writes about him that whenever any literary problem or difficulty arose Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn solved it with his clear, frank and lucid exposition. Being convinced by the convincing arguments of the Shaikh, people used to say that the answers of the Shaikh did not pertain to books but were the fruits of 'Ilhām' (inspiration).⁴⁹ It is through *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* that we become acquainted with the main ideas of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya.

Disciples and the followers of the Shaikh used to visit him every day. They asked questions on different topics to which the Shaikh answered. Sometimes the Shaikh himself narrated to them the stories of the distinguished saints and divines and at the same time explained to them the different problems arising out of those stories. *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* is the collection of such conversations of the Shaikh compiled by Amīr Ḥasan Sizjī.⁵⁰

The *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* was written by Sayyid Moḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī known as Amīr Khurd, a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya. It was written in 1351-88 A. D. Amīr Khurd has given in this book whatever he heard from the Shaikh and from others.

An important feature of the philosophy of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn is that his thoughts are not the outcome of any systematic intellectual effort but are the expression of his experiences. He seldom puts forward any arguments in the support of his experiences, but very often quotes the experiences of other divines and saints. Now, there is a lot of difference between communicating an experience and giving expression to an idea; and this is the difference between Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn and other systematic mystic thinkers. Experiences do not follow one another like premises in a syllogism. A thought can be deduced from another thought but an experience can not be deduced from another experience. Hence, while going through the conversation of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, we do not get the picture of a coherent philosophical system but feel the presence of a dominating personality. His experiences, being the expression of a great personality, lack the logical sequence.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya was not a blind follower of either the *Mu'tazilites* or the *Ash'arites*. He equally criticized both of them on various issues. Regarding the *Mu'tazilites* he says that they believe in everlasting perdition to the infidels and those committing major sins. But in this they are wrong. Only the infidels will permanently reside in Hell; because they worship a deity of their own belief and their infidelity is permanent. But a man who commits a major sin, and afterwards realizing that he has done wrong, does not persist in his wrong doing, the punishment for his sin shall not be everlasting.⁵¹

Similarly, about the *Ash'arites* he says that they believe that for God, it is proper to punish the believers in Hell perpetually and bless the infidels in Heaven for ever, because both the believers and the non-believers owe their existence to God and it is upto Him to deal with them as He likes. But this belief is not correct. Says the *Qur'ān*, "The similitude of the two parties is as the blind and the deaf and the seer and the hearer. Are they equal in similitude? Will ye not then be admonished?"⁵² There are numerous such verses in the *Qur'ān*. All these verses unquestionably reflect the wisdom of God. Hence, the wisdom of God necessarily leads us to believe that the believers in God will be rewarded in Heaven which will be their permanent abode

but the infidels will be punished in Hell which will be their resting place.⁵³

The conversations of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn and the account given by Baranī indicate that the books such as *Iḥyā'-u'l-'Ulūm* of Al-Ghazzālī,⁵⁴ *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*,⁵⁵ of Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī and *Kashf-u'l-Maḥjūb*⁵⁶ of 'Alī Hujwarī were before him and he was fully conversant with the contents of these books. His discourses on Knowledge, Love and Vision of God and Nature of soul reflect the influence of the above mentioned books.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn strictly adhered to the principles of *Sharī'at*. He punctually offered prayers (*Ṣalāts*) and observed fasts as has been mentioned in his biography. His conversations too often deal with the topics of *Ṣalāt*, its different forms and its importance⁵⁷, fasting and its merits;⁵⁸ *Zakāt* (payment of holy tax)⁵⁹ and the pilgrimage to the holy *Ka'abah*⁶⁰. We have dealt with the thought of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn under different heads in the following pages :

Knowledge

Knowledge occupies an important place in Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn's theological system. In the opinion of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, knowledge bestows greatness on the individual who attains it. Knowledge has two kinds of uses. In the first place, a divine gets such relish from knowledge that it is difficult even for a king to attain it in his kingship. In the second place, knowledge makes him beloved of God.⁶¹ Knowledge for its seeker, is like a beautiful precious tree. The way leading to it is thronged with difficulties. A man who attains it is a fortunate man indeed.⁶²

Again, knowledge has two aspects, the theoretical and the practical. After the acquisition of theoretical knowledge, one should use it practically, because the knowledge for its seeker serves as a beacon.⁶³ Practical knowledge has the following aspects:—

1. Action pertaining to senses [*Taur Hīs*] which in the modern terminology may be called 'Empiricism' refers to knowledge acquired through the sense organs.
2. Action pertaining to intellect (*Taur 'Aql*) which may be called "Rationalism" refers to conceptual knowledge which is acquired through intellect. Intellect is a divine light which is bestowed on man by God. It develops with experience. According to a tradition of the Prophet intellect is connected with heart (*Qulb*), mercy with liver (*Jigar*), and politeness and kindness with spleen. The faculty of understanding develops

upto its maximum level from fourteen to twenty four years of age, while intellect attains its full growth by the age of twenty eight. The heart and the intellect of the Prophets are angelic and heavenly (spiritual) but their lower soul (*nafs*) and body are physical. Intellect has two roots. On the one hand, through the obedience of God it gets access to His realm which is 'Light' and on the other hand it serves His creatures and is related to this world. A man is responsible for his deeds only due to this faculty.⁶⁵ But the intellect cannot comprehend essence and attributes of God, because it is limited within the sphere of imagination and understanding; and the essence and attributes of God are beyond the ken of imagination and understanding.⁶⁶

Intellect and the love are fundamentally different from one another. Theologians (*'Ulamā*) are the men of intellect while mystics (*Durveyshes*) are the men of love (*'Ishq*). Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn considers 'love' superior to 'intellect.' He narrates that there was a man, 'Alī Kokhrī by name in Multān. He did not believe in the piety and penitence of a man if he was not possessed of love.⁶⁷ He further says that a particle of love, in the opinion of M'āz Rāzī, is better than the obedience shown by all men and *Jinn*.⁶⁸ In this connection he quotes the wordings of Bābā Farīd, his beloved master. When Bābā Farīd wanted to pray for a man he used to say 'May God give you *dard*'. And this *dard* (pain) was the *dard* of love.⁶⁹ These examples clearly show the importance of love (*'Ishq*) in the system of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn.

3. Action pertaining to intuition (*Taur Qudus*) which may be compared to the 'Intuitionism' of today is very much like the '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah* of Al-Ghazzālī with a little difference. Intellect, in the system of Al-Ghazzālī, is not in contradiction to intuition or '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah*, but it is an indispensable fact for its realization. "Intuition, Al-Ghazzālī would say, is the higher form of intellect when the intellect is freed from the limitations of the senses".⁷⁰

But in the system of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn intellect is an impediment in the way of intuition. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn says, "One who is in the realm of intellect, attains something by means of self-evident or acquired (knowledge), and gets satisfaction through it, cannot have access to the spiritual region".⁷¹ But as '*Ilm-u'l-Mukāshafah* depends on divine grace in the system of Al-Ghazzālī, so it is for Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn. Like Al-Ghazzālī he also acknowledges that intuitive knowledge is not acquired and it is impossible to express it in exact logical terms.⁷²

Love of God

The ultimate end of man in this world, according to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, is 'love of God'. Mystics are unanimously agreed on the point that the creation has been made only for the 'Love of God.'⁷³ Love of God is of two kinds:⁷⁴

- (1) Love of the essence of God (*Muḥabbat-i-Dhāt*) is a divine gift. Man's acquisition has no place in it.
- (2) Love of the attributes of God (*Muḥabbat-i-Sifāt*) is an acquired love. For its acquisition the heart should be cleared of all things except God. After the purification of the heart one should absorb himself, with a singleness of purpose and unity of mind, in the remembrance of God, because the love of God and the love of things other than God can not go side by side.⁷⁵ Absorption in God requires leisure (*Farāghat*), and four things are impediments in its way. They are creatures of God, mundane world, lower soul (*nafs*) and the devil. These things divert the attention of man from God. Hence a lover of God should abstain from these things.

To avoid creatures, one should adopt solitude; to keep away from the mundane world, one should renounce the world; for renunciation, one should adhere to contentment (*Qanā'at*) and to safeguard against the dangers of the lower soul and devil, one should pray to God.⁷⁶ Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn says that if any one claims love of God, but he nurses the love of the mundane world in his heart, he is false in this claim, because love demands the sacrifice of all the lovable objects in the way of the beloved.⁷⁷ And this is the spirit of love which has been inculcated by the *Qur'ān*. *Qur'ān* says, "Ye will not attain unto piety until ye spend of that which ye love".⁷⁸

Love (*Muḥabbat*) has been derived from the Word 'حُب' (*Ḥub*). 'حُب' contains two letters, 'ح' (*Ḥ*) and 'ب' (*B*). 'ح' represents 'روح' or the soul and 'ب' represents 'بدن' or the body of the individual. Hence a lover of God should exercise his body also in the obedience of God and there should be a sincerity in it. Obedience should be of such a nature that there remains no difference between the lover and the beloved. The will of the beloved (God) should become the will of His lover. Thus a man who desires to attain love of God, but does not put both his soul and body in trials and tribulations for the obedience to God, cannot attain his cherished desire.⁷⁹

Each limb of the human body has been created for some particular purpose. If the limb is not used for its assigned purpose for a certain

period, that limb becomes useless for that purpose. In like manner heart (*Qulb*) has been created specially for the 'Love of God'.⁸⁰ If the love of God has not been nourished in the heart, the love of other things takes its place. After sometimes, this love (Love of things other than God) becomes so deep rooted in that heart that it turns into a play-ground of the devil and its original purpose is defeated. Prophet Muḥammad says, "God loves the regard for long standing love (friendship)". It is this long standing love which is referred to in "Am I not your Lord".⁸¹ But due to the devil and the passions this love is often concealed as it has been said, "The Muskpod which you are seeking is with you under blanket, but unfortunately you have no smell (trace) of it".⁸² Thus, for the love of God, purification of the heart from the human infirmities and sensual passions is indispensable and '*murāqabāh*'⁸³ (contemplation) is the best device for it. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn explains the effects of *murāqabāh* by a beautiful analogy. Suppose a man wants to clear away a dense forest. If he begins to cut each and every tree with his own hands, he cannot achieve his object even after strenuous labour over a long period of time. But if he sets fire to it, the whole forest will be cleared off within a short time. The same thing happens in contemplation. Contemplation burns all the vices and infirmities of the human heart⁸⁴. According to Yaḥyā M'āz a man begins to relish the love of God when labour becomes to him as sweet as sugar, poverty as tasteful as honey, and calamities as agreeable as the dates for his meal.⁸⁵

Love terminates itself into '*Ishq*'.⁸⁶ It is a great force in human beings. When it overpowers man, it does not separate from him, unless it burns all his infirmities. As '*Ishqāh*'⁸⁷ dries a tree, in the same way love ('*Ishq*') purifies the human heart of all infirmities. A man burning in fire of love ('*Ishq*') forgets all things other than God. He absorbs himself in the remembrance of God and this absorption becomes so deep, that he becomes oblivious even of the life and death of his relatives.

Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār, the director of Bābā Farīd, returned home after the funeral ceremony of his youngest son. Having heard the weeping and wailing of his wife, he began to lament. When the reason for the lamentation was asked, he said, "Now it strikes me that I did not pray for the life of my son, Had I prayed for it, I would have got it".⁸⁸ Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, after relating the above story says, "See the absorption of the *Shaikh*. The remembrance of God overpowered him so much that he could not even remember the life and death of his son."⁸⁹

A man of love completely surrenders himself to the will of God. All his activities are for God. Even his food and sleep are only for Him.

In this connection Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn relates the story of a saint. One day he asked his wife to give food to a *durveish* who was residing on the other side of a river. His wife asked as to how she would cross the river. He said, "When you go to the bank of the river tell the water to provide way for you due to the respect for your husband who never conjugated with his wife". His wife was very much perplexed on these words of her husband, because she had many issues by him. But she did not utter any word. She went taking the food with her to the water side, conveyed the message to the water and the water gave way for her passage. Having crossed it she put the food before the *durveish* and the *durveish* took it in her presence. After his meal, the woman addressed the *durveish*, 'How shall I cross the water?' The *durveish* inquired, "How did you come here"? The woman repeated the words of her husband. Having heard his words, the *durveish* said, "Go to the water and tell it to provide way for you due to the respect of the *durveish* who never took his meals for thirty years". The woman, bewildered with this answer of the *durveish*, came to the water, repeated the same words and got passage. Having returned to her home she fell down at her husband's feet and implored him to tell the secret of the sayings uttered by him and the *durveish*. Her husband replied, "Beware; I have never conjugated with you for the satisfaction of my own sensual desire, but I have conjugated with you only to satisfy your desire. So, in the real sense, I have not conjugated with you. Similarly, that *durveish*, for a period of thirty years, has never taken his meals for his satisfaction or relish, but he took the meals only to gather strength, so that he may obey God's command".⁹⁰

Not only this, but the whole life of the lover of God becomes the 'remembrance of God'. The moment he forgets His remembrance, he is no better than the dead. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn in this connection, relates the story of a saint, Mīrak Girāmī by name. A *durveish* once wished to visit him. That *durveish* had miraculous powers. His miracle was that he never saw any false dream. He started for the place of Mīrak Girāmī. In the course of his journey he dreamt that Mīrak Girāmī had died. He very much lamented his death and made up his mind to visit at least his tomb. Having reached the place of Mīrak Girāmī, he enquired from people about his grave. All of them said that he was alive. Now our *durveish* was struck with wonder as to how his dream came out to be false. He went to Mīrak Girāmī and saluted him. Mīrak Girāmī responded to his greetings and said, 'Oh Khwājah, your dream was true. I was always absorbed in the remembrance of God, but last night I forgot him. Hence, God declared in the world that Mīrak Girāmī had died away'.⁹¹

Thus, God and God alone becomes the aim of the lover of God. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Abul-Moy'ad says, "I shall abstain neither from Thee nor from Thy desire, I shall sacrifice my life in love".⁹²

Besides the above mentioned characteristics of the lover of God, there are some specific virtues which accompany the love of God, i.e., *Ṣabr* (Patience), *Ridā*, (Resignation), *Khauf* (fear) and *Tawakkul* (Trust in God), says Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn. He explains these virtues as follows:—

Ṣabr:—When any unpleasant thing happens to a lover, he bears it and does not complain against it. This is called *Ṣabr* (Patience).

Ridā—*Riḳā* is a state of love in which the lover does not feel pain and suffering even in the midst of tortures and calamities. He cheerfully cherishes these calamities as pleasures, for he feels whatever is happening is happening by the will of his beloved.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya tries to answer the dialecticians who object to this conception of *Riḳā*. They contend that pain in the midst of sufferings and calamities is an indispensable fact. But it frequently happens that thorns pierce the foot of a traveller in the course of his travels and it begins to bleed, but the traveller, due to his haste and pre-occupation with his destination, does not feel the pain at that time. Later on, at the time of ease, he realises it.⁹⁴ In the same way, a man engaged in fighting often does not know that he is wounded and does not feel pain until he returns to his destination.⁹⁵ Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī writes that a man was whipped a thousand times but he did not feel any pain. When the reason was demanded, he answered that while he was being whipped, his beloved was before his eyes and it was the presence of his beloved due to which he did not feel any pain.⁹⁶ This is an instance from the affairs of mortal beings and a mortal beloved seen by the bodily eyes. Consider then the position in which God stands as the beloved, whose perfect beauty is seen by the eyes of the heart. How grand, how majestic, how much full of splendour would it be?

According to Al-Ghazzālī *riḳā* means, "Ever to remain resigned in the Will of God (*Riḳā*) is a state that emerges from the love of God, as also from the virtue of the soul which it achieves when it approaches nearest to Allāh; and the seeming contradictions and doubts involved in these workings cannot be completely resolved till one becomes gifted with the knowledge of God".⁹⁰

He further says, "Some people, who believe that in suffering and in things against one's will only patience is possible and *riḳā* is unimaginable, deny love altogether".⁹⁷

Here we find a great similarity between the views of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn and Al-Ghazzālī and it shows the influence of Ghazzālī on the

thought of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn.

Tawakkul:—*Tawakkul* (Trust in God) is the highest stage of love. It is the absolute dependence on God. A *mutawakkil* (one who observes *tawakkul*) does not rely on anything except God. Without *tawakkul* faith remains incomplete. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn says, "The faith does not attain its completion unless and until the whole creation for the believer appears (as insignificant) as the hair of a camel."⁹⁸ *Tawakkul* is of three grades :

The first grade of *tawakkul* is like the relation of a client to his pleader. A client, for the support of his case, appoints a pleader who is brilliant and has also friendly relations with him. Now he has no fears and thinks that his case is in safe hands and that his friend will plead his case in an efficient manner. But in spite of his firm belief, he suggests to his pleader, from time to time, to plead his case in a particular way. The same thing happens to a *mutawakkil* in his *tawakkul* at this stage. Though a *mutawakkil* absolutely relies on God, yet he prays to God for his own benefits from time to time.

The second grade of *tawakkul* is like the reliance of a suckling child on his mother. The child does not question his mother's decisions to suckle him at this or that time. When hungry, he only weeps, because he has the firm confidence in the kindness of his mother. The same thing happens to a *mutawakkil* at this stage. He fully relies on God and never asks any thing from God.

The third and the highest grade of *tawakkul* is like the obedience of the dead body to one who washes it. A dead body has neither any questions nor any movements of its own. It only obeys what it is ordered to do. In like manner a *mutawakkil* at this stage, completely surrenders himself before the Will of God. He obeys the commandments of God without any questionings.⁹⁹

Fear (*Khauf*) of God:—When a man trembles with fear of God, his sins depart from him as the dry leaves fall from the tree.¹⁰⁰

Vision of God

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, in conformity with the orthodox point of view, believes in the doctrine of the vision of God as laid down in the traditions. He regards vision of God as the Summum Bonum of life. He tries to explain it on the basis of the attributes of God. God combines in Himself all the attributes; visibility is one of the attributes; hence God should be visible. But he frankly admits that the vision of God cannot be proved on the intellectual basis.¹⁰¹

Some people object to vision of God and say that no one in the world has enjoyed the vision of God with physical eyes, hence vision of God is not possible. But Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn tries to meet this objection. This objection, according to him, is based on an assumption. It may be empirically true of man, but it cannot be said definitely, that creatures other than mankind have also not enjoyed the vision of God. It is just possible that, when Moses prayed to God for His vision, God endowed the mountain Ṭūr with the faculty of vision and having seen the majestic grandeur of God, the mountain was shattered into pieces; and thus God revealed His majestic power to Moses so that he refrained from his prayer.¹⁰²

Again, it is a fact that man can not enjoy the vision of God with his waking eyes in this finite world, as is evident from the anecdote of Moses and the traditions; but even in this finite world one can enjoy God's vision in his dreams. Imām Aḥmad Ḥumbal enjoyed it a thousand times in his dreams and Shāh Shujā' Kirmānī too enjoyed it for once in his dream.¹⁰³

Again, it is not impossible that one may enjoy the vision after his death and before stepping into heaven. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn says that it was his intense desire to know whether a man enjoys the vision of God after his death and before the day of judgment. Once he saw the servant of Shaikh Nujīb-u'd-dīn, Raies by name, in his dream. He put this question to him and received an answer in the affirmative. This answer served as fuel to his burning desire. He put the same question in his dream to a woman, Zaibā by name. She also replied in the affirmative, and further said that she had enjoyed the vision of God twice.

On the day of judgment, each individual will enjoy the vision of God without any restriction, in accordance with the intensity of his love for it. Without this love it is not possible to enjoy it. There are people who are desirous of enjoying it from this very life; and there are many who will nurse this desire in the after life. But it is better to be desirous of the vision of God from this mortal World.¹⁰⁴ The highest bliss in heaven, for its dwellers, will be the vision of God. They will implore God with these words, "Oh Lord, bestow on us Thy Vision with Thy Grace".¹⁰⁵

Thus we find that Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn differs from the *Mu'tazilites* and agrees with the *Ash'arites* and Imām-al-Ghazzālī on this point. *Mu'tazilites* denied the vision of God. They held that vision involved the directing of the eyes to various parts of the seen, which implies that the seen object should have a position in space. If God is seen it means that He is in space and therefore, limited. So they were led to deny

the possibility of the vision of God, inspite of the traditions and passages in the *Qur'ān* to this effect, which they tried to explain away.¹⁰⁶

Al-Ghazzālī tries to meet their objections by arguing that this vision should not be understood to have special reference to the eye or any other sense organ. It is a complete knowledge which God can create in man without the mediation of the senses. Just as the conception of God, as entertained by us, is free from the implications of spatial and temporal characteristics, similarly the immediate knowledge of God, i.e., the special perception or the vision of Him, in the next world, will be free from such limitations.¹⁰⁷

Conception of God

The God of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn is a personal God. Personality is not synonymous with individuality but is more than that. Personality involves self consciousness, freedom, justice, and grace.¹⁰⁸ A being who is devoid of the above mentioned attributes, cannot legitimately and logically, be called a person. Now let us see how does Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn explain the personality of God.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, quoting Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, says that it is God who knows when the day of judgment will occur. He alone knows whether an embryo will develop into a son or a daughter. He alone has the knowledge of tomorrow. He alone is aware of the place of man's death; and He is the power who makes rain to fall.¹⁰⁹ These are the facts about which human beings have no fore-knowledge. Thus knowledge of God is more comprehensive than the knowledge of any other being. Obviously, consciousness and self-consciousness, which are true of man, cannot be denied of God.

In connection with the grace of God, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn says that intuitive knowledge (*Ṭaur Qudus*) is a divine gift. Man's acquisition has no place in it.¹¹⁰ Again, in the chapter on 'Love of God', as already pointed out, he says that the love of the essence of God is based absolutely on the grace of God. Man cannot acquire it with his own labour.¹¹¹

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn believes in the absolute freedom of God. He says that God is omnipotent. He is the power who has bestowed relative perfection on man. He confers honour on whomsoever He wants and inflicts disgrace on whomsoever He wants. He causes a man to die and again infuses life into him. He is the only bestower. When He bestows something on some one, no power can check Him.¹¹² He is the only creator; every action which a man performs, whether good or bad, has

been created by God.¹¹³ He is the only governor. Even the kings are under His grip. He appoints either the kind hearted or the cruel kings to rule over His creatures according to their deeds.¹¹⁴ All this, in short, implies the omnipotence of God and omnipotence of God implies His absolute freedom in His creation.

So far as justice is concerned Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn says that justice and grace are the basis of God's treatment towards His creatures. But the deeds of the creatures, with regard to one another, are not always based on justice and grace but very often on tyranny as well. When the creatures tyrannise over one another, God judges their actions. No one, not even the Prophets, can escape the punishment of God on the ground of His absolute justice. According to the Prophet, God will not be blamed of injustice and oppression if He throws him (the Prophet) and his brother Moses into the hell-fire, because the entire universe is the property of God, and one who appropriates his own property cannot be said to be a tyrant.¹¹⁵ It shows Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn's firm belief in the justice of God.

These quotations clearly indicate What Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn means by the personality of God. Thus, we can unhesitatingly say that God of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn is a personal God. He has a personal relation with His creatures. He responds to the call of His creatures affectionately and warmly. He confers on them high ranks and positions. He provides them with all sorts of things. He loves them and rewards them by granting them His own vision.

God is immanent in His creatures. There is not a single particle of the universe which is separate from Him. Moses asked God, "Oh Benefactor, are you near so that I may call you slowly, or are you at a distance, so that I may call you loudly. I hear your voice but I do not see you. Where are you?"

God answered, "I am in front of you and behind you, to your right and to your left, and every where. When any creature remembers Me, I am by his side, and when he calls Me, I am near him."¹¹⁶ God says to the Prophet, 'Oh Muḥammad, when people question you about My place, tell them that I am near them. I am nearer to them than their jugular vein, and I am nearer to them than you are but you do not see Me.¹¹⁷ Nearness (*Qurb*)¹¹⁸ is an attribute of God and attribute of God is most real; therefore, the attribute of nearness, when thought in connection with God, will be more real than nearness to any other object. There is no possibility of distance in it. He is always and everywhere with His creatures. But the being together (*Ma'īyyat*)¹¹⁹ of God with His creatures is not like the being together of a body with other bodies,

or of a substance with other substances, or of an attribute with other attributes; but it is like the being together of soul with the body. He is with his creatures, but at the same time, He is separate from them.¹²⁰ In other words, God is immanent in His creatures, but at the same time, He is also transcendent.

Nature of Soul

Human soul, according to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, is a spiritual substance.¹²¹ It is not characterised by any form or quality. It was one universal soul in the beginning but the individual sou's are the emanation from it.¹²²

Soul is not the creature of this physical world, but its place is in the celestial realm. Celestial entities are of three kinds: The low kind of celestial entities are the earth, hell, and the angels pertaining to the rivers and mountains. Then there is the middle grade of celestial creatures, and they are the angels of the heaven. The topmost grade consists of the spirits who are the favourites of God. They are the most subtle entities. If the spirits of the topmost rank descend to the angels of the low grade, they cannot see them due to their subtleties. But the human soul is finer than the spirits of the topmost rank.¹²³ Soul is contiguous with the body but in spite of its contiguity, it is neither inside the body nor outside it; it is neither in motion nor at rest.

It possesses tremendous power. Within a moment it travels from the highest heaven to the lowest region. It attains perfection through mortification. After its perfection it leaves its gross body and rests in subtle bodies, and within an instant, it covers the whole distance from east to west. It passes through water without being touched by it. In its flight, in the spiritual realm, it goes through fire without being affected by it. This explains why the hell fire will not be able to burn some souls.

Soul has also Will power. With this Will power it rules over the body. A perfect soul dominates the heart and a perfect heart dominates the body. If the soul is touched by the physical misery of others, that physical misery appears on the body as if the body of the sympathising soul itself has been injured. Once, in the presence of Shaikh Abū-Sa'yeed, a man was whipped twice with a leather belt. Abū Sa'yeed was touched by this scene and said, "I felt as if I was beaten". There was an enemy of the Shaikh. He took the statement of the Shaikh as absurd. Shaikh Abū Sa'yeed unclothed his back and the marks of both the whips were there.¹²⁴

The knowledge of the soul leads to the knowledge of God. Just as soul is related to body so is God related to His creatures; and this is the meaning of the tradition, "one who knows himself, knows God",¹²⁵

Nafs (lower soul)

There is a *nafs* (lower soul) in human being which is other than soul. It is a sort of evil power which is called *Khannās*. It resides in the heart of man, instigates him to commit evil deeds and keeps him away from remembrance of God.¹²⁶ Maulānā 'Allā-u'd-dīn Tarandī, in his book *Nawādir-u'l-ūṣūl* writes that once Eve was sitting in her house. Iblīs (*Shayṭān*) brought *Khannās* to her and advised her to protect him, for he was his son. When Ādam returned to his home, Eve related the story of *Khannās* to him. Ādam, having known the fact, broke the *Khannās* into four pieces and put them on four mountains. After Ādam's departure, Iblīs came in and inquired from Eve about *Khannās*. Eve narrated to him the fate of *Khannās*. Hearing this news, Iblīs called *Khannās* and *Khannās* at once came into his presence. Ādam, on returning home saw *Khannās* again and came to know all about him from Eve. This time Ādam burned *Khannās* and threw his ashes into river. While Ādam was away Iblīs again came and recalled *Khannās* in the presence of Eve. On his return Ādam again found *Khannās* in his home. He killed him this time and ate him. Instantaneously Iblīs reached there and called *Khannās*. *Khannās*, from the heart of Ādam, responded to the call of Iblīs. Iblīs said, "Take rest there and this was my only purpose".¹²⁷

No doubt it is a fable but it is intended to signify the fact that *nafs* is an inseparable power of the heart. It cannot be rooted out completely. It can only be sublimated and for its sublimation, it is but necessary to oppose it. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn narrates that a man saw his *nafs* in his own form on his prayer carpet. In astonishment he asked him who he was. He replied that he was *nafs*. When the reason of his presence was demanded he said that he was in misery due to him. The man threatened to kill him. *Nafs* answered, "You cannot kill me. For my death it is but indispensable to oppose me".¹²⁸ In other words *nafs* should be there in order to be opposed.

Qulb (Heart)

In opposition to *nafs*, there is *Qulb*. *Nafs* is the abode of enmity, wickedness, etc., but *Qulb* leads to peace and submission.¹²⁹ There are

different sorts of states which arise in the heart, e. g., *Qalbī* (pertaining to *Qalb*), *Rūḥānī* (spiritual), *Mālakī* (Angelic), *Nafasūnī* (sensual) and *Shayṭānī* (Devilic).

Sensual states arise for a definite purpose. Unless that purpose is achieved, one does not attain liberation from them.

Devilic states divert the attention of man from the remembrance of God. These devilic and sensual states can be overpowered only with the aid of piety and penitence.¹³⁰

Men differ from one another in their natural aptitudes; and this difference is the divine gift. For example, a man is satisfied with ten *darhams* (coins) only. If he gets more, he becomes restless until he spends them. Another man, on the contrary, covets wealth. As he earns more, he yearns for more and more.¹³¹

Freedom of Will

In dealing with the problem of 'Freedom of Will' Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn neither favours the *Mu'tazilites* nor the *Ash'arites*. He has his own views which are based on the spirit of the *Qur'ān* and are very much similar to those of *Rāmī*.

Mu'tazilites unambiguously affirmed the absolute freedom of human beings. They also stressed that God, in view of His justice, cannot interfere with the actions of man. Thus they imposed a limit on the sovereignty of God.

Ash'arites, in order to safeguard the sovereignty of God, denied the freedom of human beings. Though they affirmed a kind of determined freedom but their determined freedom was only a veil for determinism pure and simple, which had no place for human personality or individuality. Al-Ghazzālī, the great champion of *Ash'arites*, says, "All actions in reality ensue from God, but in spite of it man is responsible for these actions of God because he is the Object or the Ground or the Locus on which they take place. Man, being the 'ج' of them, is responsible, because God realized certain of its purposes through him".¹³²

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, on the one hand preached the absolute sovereignty of God and on the other hand, he gave to man his due place. He says that God has provided every soul with potentialities according to its capacity. These potentialities are limited in their nature. Now, it is the business of each man to actualise these potentialities within their restricted field. Unless and until a man actualises those

potentialities, he is not able to receive the grace of God.¹³³ He clearly says, "Though the guidance in matters of religion is a divine gift, but the individual should strive for it".¹³⁴ He tells his disciples that there are numberless keys to unlock the grace of God, but no one is definite of the key by which the grace of God may be won. Hence, the individual should try each key in order to attain His grace.¹³⁵

These quotations from Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn clearly show that he advocated the sovereignty of God, on the one hand and the freedom of human beings on the other. God is sovereign because He is the Person who, according to His will, provides mankind with the potentialities and again, fixes some limit to each potentiality. Thus a man by his own labour and trial, cannot acquire any new potentiality nor can he surpass the limit set by God. Therefore man, in this respect, is limited in his power and his freedom is also limited. Man is free in his action, because he is the person who has to actualise his potentialities.

God has only provided the material for actualising the given potentialities of the mankind. He, at the same time, has informed them of the correct and right use of those materials through His prophets. Now, it depends on the sweet will of the man either to use or misuse the powers with which he has been endowed. If he uses the materials according to direction of God, he will be rewarded by Him, and if he misuses them, he will be chastised.

Rāmī has propounded the same view in different words. He says, "All things and situations in the world can be divided into those alterable and unalterable. Man is determined so far as the unalterable side is concerned, but he is free to alter the alterable".¹³⁶

He further says, "Predestination is true so far as the 'laws of God' are concerned. Individual choice is not predestined. The form of law is eternal; its content is free and variable".¹³⁷ *Qur'ān* lays down, "Allāh tasketh not a soul beyond its scope"¹³⁸ 'Beyond its scope' indicates the limitation of the human potentialities; and 'tasketh' reveals the responsibility of man in his action, and responsibility implies the freedom of man in his action because responsibility without freedom is meaningless.

Thus, we find that the views of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn regarding the 'freedom of will' are in harmony with the spirit of the *Qur'ān*.

Renunciation of the World

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn emphatically condemns the love of the world

and calls upon the people to renounce it. Love of the world, in his opinion, is the root of all evil. If all the sins should be placed in one chamber, the love of the world serves as the key for that chamber; while on the contrary, if all the obedience should be placed in another chamber, the love of saints opens the door for that chamber.¹³⁹ Love of saints means leading a saintly life; and a saintly life is the life which is on the model of the life of prophet Muḥammad.¹⁴⁰ Thus Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn invites mankind to follow the example of the life of Prophet Muḥammad, a life which is full of ambitions, activities, service and devotion.

Now, it is necessary to find out what Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn means by the world. To explain it he takes four possibilities :

- Either a thing is world, both in its form and meaning;
 - or a thing is not world, neither in its form nor in its meaning;
 - or a thing is not world in its form but is world in its meaning;
 - or a thing is world in its form, but is not world in its meaning.
- (I) A thing which is world, both in its form and meaning, is to have more than one's own requirements.
 - (II) A thing which is not world, neither in its form nor in its meaning is the sincere obedience to God.
 - (III) A thing which is not world in form but is world in meaning is the obedience to God tinged with hypocrisy.
 - (IV) A thing which is world in form but is not world in meaning is the fulfilment of the duties imposed on individuals on behalf of God. For instance a man meets the requirements of his own family members; though in form it appears as world yet in meaning it is not world.¹⁴¹

These statements of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn indicate that world in its limited sense, applies only to two things. Firstly it applies to the possessions which are in excess of one's needs; and secondly, to the obedience of God mixed with hypocrisy. The sincere service of mankind or striving for the welfare of humanity do not come under world, in its narrow sense. Service of humanity may be either intellectual or physical. All development in the realm of science and philosophy come under the former. All material progress, in the interests of mankind at large comes under the latter. Thus, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn does not prohibit people from scientific and intellectual pursuits and material affairs altogether. What he prohibits and condemns is hypocrisy and excess of wealth. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn says that world, in the opinion of a saint is not the gold or silver or the material goods; but it is one's own belly. A man who takes a little food has renounced the world, but a man who takes his full diet, cannot be said to have renounced the world.¹⁴²

"Taking a little food" may not be interpreted as the hoarding of wealth by effecting a cut in expenditure on food but it may be interpreted as the spirit of self sacrifice on the part of the individual. It can be explained by the following example. A man has the capacity to take his full diet; but there resides another man in his neighbourhood who suffers from the pangs of hunger. In this situation the man does not take his full diet and gives some of it to the hungry man. Now this giving of food to the hungry man certainly involves self sacrifice on the part of this man. If he, in this situation, takes his full diet, he is undoubtedly indulging in the mundane world, and this belly is the entire world for him.

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn himself practised this principle. It has been mentioned in his biography that in spite of enormous wealth which used to come as *ḥuṭ*, the Shaikh observed continuous fasts. Often he did not take his *ṣaḥrē*. When somebody insisted on it, he replied that there were so many hungry *ḍurveyshes* and saints lying in mosques and in the corners of the shops. How could he take *ṣaḥrē* under these circumstances.¹⁴³

He propagated the virtue of charity. He says that distribution of food contains plenty of grace. Man who gives water to others in this finite world will enjoy its fruits in the world to come.¹⁴⁴ He quotes Fāṭima and Bībī Zaibā in this connection. Fāṭima says that a man who gives a piece of bread and a cup of water to others, receives so much boons, both in this world and in the world to come, that cannot be attained even with lacs of prayers and fasts.¹⁴⁵ Zaibā says in the dream of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn that she enjoyed the vision of God twice after her death due to the practice of distribution of food.¹⁴⁶

Thus, according to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, the renunciation of the world does not mean a life of monastic seclusion, a life which leads to passivity, death and destruction of the human qualities but he wants to infuse in mankind an urge for active life; a life full of service to humanity but devoid of greed and mundane cravings. Renunciation of the world, he explains, does not consist in being naked or in wearing a *langota* only but it means to wear clothes and to take food. The only condition which it implies is that one should keep it in continuous use whatever he earns and should not incline to hoard it; at the same time he should abstain from indulging in the mundane affairs.

Renunciation of the world is the basis of religion. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn says that the observance of fast during the day time and keeping awake at night and to visit Ka'abah are not the roots of

religion, but its root is renunciation of the world; because the love of the world and the love of God can not go side by side.¹⁴⁸ When God loves a man He makes the world insignificant in his eyes, and when He humiliates anyone, He makes the world lovable to him.¹⁴⁹

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn classifies human beings into three categories :

- (I) There are people who love the world and are always absorbed in its affairs.
- (II) There are people who regard the world as their enemy. They always condemn it and try to root out its love from their hearts altogether.
- (III) There are people who neither love the world, nor take it as their enemy. The people of this category are the best.¹⁵⁰

In modern terminology, the people of the first category may be termed as hedonists and the people of second category as the stoics. Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn discards both these categories. He admires the people of the third category who in the midst of worldly trials and tribulations endeavour to attain their cherished goal, the love and the vision of God.

Ethical Virtues

Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn explains some ethical virtues, such as forbearance, forgiveness and courage. Human beings possess two things: one is the *nafs* (lower self) and the other is *Qalb* (heart). If any one treats you with *nafs*, you should treat him with *Qalb*, says Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, because *nafs* is the abode of conflict and disturbance and *Qalb* is the resting place of peace and submission. Hence, if any one treats *nafs* with *Qalb*, the *nafs* is overpowered by *Qalb* and there comes peace; but if *nafs* has been treated with *nafs* it serves as a fuel to the burning fire of conflict and disturbance.¹⁵¹

Forbearance for man is his beauty and knowledge is his eye. Prophet Muḥammad says, "Help me through knowledge and decorate me through forbearance".¹⁵² People, in the opinion of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn, can be divided into three categories :

- (i) There are people who are neither a source of gain to any one nor a cause of loss. Such people are like stones.
- (ii) There are people from whom individuals derive benefit and they do not cause injury to others unless they are injured by others. They are better than those of the first category.

- (iii) Lastly, there are men from whom people derive benefit but if any one causes injury to them, they do not take revenge. They are the best of all and they are the sincere ones. For they believe that whatever good or bad action a man performs, its real creator is God.¹⁵³

A man should have courage, and a man of courage aims only at the attainment of God, as the attainment of God is the highest goal for which a man should endeavour. If on the other hand, any one devotes himself to the accumulation of wealth for his honour and position, he is a most greedy man and is not a man of courage.¹⁵⁴

Forgiveness is one of the best virtues in man. If a man forgives others in this mortal world, God will reward him for that on the day of judgment.¹⁵⁵

Karāmat (Miracle)

According to Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn any occurrence which is not consonant with reason is called a miracle (*Karāmat*). It is of four kinds:

- (i) *Mu'jazah*:—*Mu'jazah* is the highest form of miracle which is attributed to Prophets only. The miraculous performance of the Prophets is conscious and most effective and perfect.
- (ii) *Karāmat*:—*Karāmat* is that miraculous act which is performed by friends of God (*Auliya*). They too have perfect knowledge. The difference between a prophet and a friend of God (*Walī*) is that the Prophet has power over his states but the friend of God has been overpowered by his states.
- (iii) *Ma'ūnat*:—*Ma'ūnat* is a form of miracle which has been performed by the lunatics. They lack both knowledge and spiritual practice.
- (iv) *Istadrāj*:—*Istadrāj* is that miraculous act which is displayed by the non-believers in *Islām*.¹⁵⁶

Three things are achieved by *Karāmat*, says Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn:

- (i) A man of *Karāmat* attains knowledge without studying it. Khawājah Abū Ḥafṣ Nishāpurī, in the way of pilgrimage to Mecca reached Baghdād and talked to Khawājah Junaid in fine Arabic, though, he had no knowledge of Arabic. It was the mere gift of his *Karāmat*.
- (ii) Things which are generally perceived in dreams only, a man of *karāmat* sees those things in his waking state.
- (iii) In ordinary waking state a man can influence only his own

personality through his imagination. For example, if he imagines the food his mouth begins to salivate. But a man of *karāmat* can influence the personality of others with his imagination. If he imagines that a man who is absent has come to him he does come to his presence; or if he imagines the death of any body, that man instantaneously dies.¹⁵⁷

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn is not in favour of displaying the *karāmat*. He says that it is only for the Prophet to reveal his *Mu'jazzah* but for the friend of God (*Walī*), it is necessary (*farq*) to keep the *karāmat* a secret. Hence, if any man displays his *karāmat*, he violates his duty and the violation of duty is a sin. He further says that there are one hundred grades of *sulūk* (mystical path) of which the inspiration (*Kāshf*) and miracle (*karāmat*) occupy only the 17th position. If any *sālik* devotes himself to the demonstration of *karāmat*, it will be difficult for him to traverse the rest of the path. Hence, it is not creditable for one to be a man of *karāmat*. On the contrary, man should endeavour to achieve his ultimate goal (the love and vision of God).¹⁵⁸

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn was a man of sobriety (*Ṣaḥu*) and he extolled sobriety above exaltation (*Sukr*).¹⁵⁹

CHAPTER VIII

Distinctive features of Muslim Religious Thought in India between 1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D. and 1326 A.D. to 1450 A.D.

The review of Muslim Religious Thought in India, from 1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D., unquestionably brings home to us the fact that the Indian Muslim Religious Thought was represented by the Muslim mystics. These mystics were, no doubt, observing the laws of *Shar'at*, but *Ṭarīqat* instead of *Shar'at* was the dominating feature of the Muslim Religious Thought. They did not bring rigidity in the external laws of *Shar'at*. The two mystic orders, the *Chishtī* and the *Suhrwardī* were busy in the work of preaching *Islām*. *Chishtī* order was an autonomous institution. It was completely divorced from political life. Saints such as *Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī*; *Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī*; *Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣūfī*; *Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī*; *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakriyyā*; *Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Gunj-i-Shakar*; *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya*; and hundreds of *Khalifahs* of the above mentioned saints tried their best to propagate *Islām*. They presented the true concept of *Islām* not only theoretically but also by living according to its doctrines. Their discourses on conception of God, knowledge of God, love of God, and vision of God were in strict conformity with the doctrines of *Islām* as interpreted by *Al-Ghazzālī*, and others. They all preached the determined freedom. In connection with the nature of soul, they confined themselves to the view that soul is the commandment of God.

Muslim rulers of the Slave and the *Khiljī* dynasties (1206 A.D. to 1320 A.D.) never dared to meddle with the affairs of the above mentioned saints. They respected the saints from the core of their heart.

Most of the Muslims were attached either to the *Chishtī* or the *Suhrwardī* order. The overwhelming majority of Muslims consisted of new converts to *Islām* who embraced *Islām* due to its doctrines of brotherhood, liberty and equality. They were very much impressed by the spotless character of the saints and their message of love and service to humanity at large. At the time of *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya* the *Chishtī Khānqāh* was established in every part of the country. These

Khānqāhs were governed by a central organization. Thus, side by side with political organization there was also a kind of muslim spiritual organization working throughout India.

In the first half of the 13th century there were only a few divines. But hundreds of saints and divines migrated from Central Asia to India in the 'Alai regime due to Mongol invasion. Slowly and gradually *Madrasahs* (schools) were started for the education of the masses. *Fiqh* (jurisprudence), *Ḥadīth* (Traditions) and *Tafsīr* were the main subjects which were included in the courses of study at these *Madrasahs*. Thus, at the end of the 13th century, religious consciousness was highly developed, at least, in the literate muslim masses.

Fourteenth century dawned with its new phase and grandeur. After the death of *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya* (1325 A.D.) the atmosphere of the country was changed. The spiritual order of the *Chishtī silsilāh* was very much weakened. *Sharī'at* instead of *Ṭarīqat* became the dominant feature of Muslim Religious Thought. Saints there were but the saints of 13th century had become legends of the past. The two dynasties, the *Tughlaq* (1320 A.D. to 1413 A.D.) and the *Sayyids* (1414 A.D. to 1450 A.D.) ruled the country.

The first *Tughlaq Sultān*, *Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn* was a man of character. He punctually performed the congregational prayers, observed fast in the month of *Ramaḍān*, and performed the *Tarāwīḥ* prayers. He never tasted wine which was strictly prohibited in his regime.¹ He was greatly interested in Muslim Jurisprudence. For the observance of *Sharī'at* he appointed *Qādis* (judges) throughout his regime.² Divines were gaining power at his time. Because of the protests of these divines the *Sultān* called a meeting to discuss the legality of *sama'* (Music) where *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn* had to go personally to explain what *sama'* was.³ The *Sultān* was a lover of wisdom. He respected the divines, muftis, teachers and students and granted money to them according to their status. He donated huge amounts of money to the *Khānqāhs*.⁴

But as ill luck would have it *Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq* succeeded *Sultān Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughlaq*. *Muḥammad bin Tughlaq* was a man of contradictory nature. *Baranī* writes about him: "*Sultān Muḥammad* was one of the wonderful creations of God. He possessed contradictory qualities which were beyond the comprehension of the rationalists and the divines".⁵ Though he regularly offered his prayers five times a day and had firm belief in *Islām* yet unfortunately he came under the influence of *Sai'd*, the heretic and the logician; *Uḥaid*, the unbeliever, *Najm Intishār*, and *Maulānā 'Alīm-u'd-dīn*, the philosophers,

from his early youth.⁶ In the company of the above mentioned personalities the *Sultān* acquired a firm belief in rationalism and doubted the traditions and the sayings of the religious saints which were not in conformity with reason.⁷

This brought about a great change in his religious outlook. He never cared for *Shar'at* and always followed his own conscience.⁸ He believed that state and religion are twins.⁹ Hence he forced the saints and divines to join the state service and to work according to his instructions.¹⁰ This resulted in a great resentment among saints, divines and the devout muslims. The result was that there was hardly a single day, in the regime of this unique *Sultān*, when innocent saints, divines and the devout muslims were not tortured, punished or massacred mercilessly.¹¹

Shifting of the capital from Delhi to Deogir gave a death blow to the central organization of the *Chishtī* order. The *Khalīfāhs* and the sincere disciples of *Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn* were scattered and thus the living traditions of the order came to an end.¹² The *Sultān* came in open conflict with the elder *Chishtī* saints.¹³ Hence the *Khānqāhs* which were the main source of guidance and education of the populace came to an end.¹⁴ But this attitude of the *Sultān* brought about a great reaction among the literate masses. People felt a vacuum in their religious life, and a desire for preserving the past heritage prompted them to compile the *malfūzāt*. *Amīr Khurd* compiled *Siyar-u'l Auliya*, *Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn* compiled his *Surur-u's-Ṣudūr*, *Ḥamīd Qalandar* compiled his *Khair-u'l-Majālis* and *Maulānā Ḥammād bin 'Imād* compiled his *Ahsan-u'l-Aqwāl*. This resulted in producing a rigid attitude about the *Shar'at*. Though the right of *ijtihād* had been withdrawn by the 'ulamā long before, yet it was at this time that clear and definite declarations to that effect were made. Muslim jurists and divines emphasized only the four established schools of jurisprudence. They never bothered to go to the original sources of *Islām*.

Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq was replaced by *Sultān Firuz Shāh Tughlaq*. He was a God-fearing man. He strictly followed *Shar'at*. *Baranī* writes about him, "I have not seen a *sultān* like *Firuz Shāh* who has protected the rights of the muslim and strictly observed the laws of *Shar'at*".¹⁵ Soon after his coronation, he visited the tombs of *Bābā Farīd*, *Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya*, *Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn* and the saints of *Bahkaur* and donated a handsome amount of money for the maintenance of the *Khānqāhs*. He awarded villages, lands and gardens to the descendants of *Bābā Farīd*, *Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn*,

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn, Shaikh Rukun-u'd-dīn and Shaikh Jamāl-u'd-dīn.¹⁶ He removed all heretics from the government services and appointed religious and God-fearing judges and governors.¹⁷

He constructed a *madrasah*, named '*Fīruzī Madrasah*'. Maulānā Jalāl-u'd-dīn was the principal of that institution. It was one of the great centres of learning in the East. *Tafsīr*, *Fiqh* and *Ḥadīth* were the main subjects which were taught there.¹⁸ This period is noted for the profuse literature on *Fiqh* and *Taṣawwuf*.¹⁹

Sultān Fīruz Shāh died in 1388 A.D. After his death a civil war broke out between his sons and the grandsons. His grandson, Sultān Tuḡlaq Shāh ascended the throne²⁰, but he was assassinated by Malik Rukun-u'd-dīn in 1388-89 A.D. After his assassination Abu Bakar, another grandson of Fīruz Shāh came to throne²¹ but he could stay only for a year and a half. He was replaced by Sultān Muḥammad who reigned for six years and six months.²² Sultān 'Alā-u'd-dīn succeeded Sultān Muḥammad but died only after a month and sixteen days. Then he was followed by the last king of the dynasty, Sultān Maḥmūd Shāh. Though he reigned for twenty years and two months but his reign was a nominal one. He was weak and incompetent in administration. Taimūr, the Amīr of central Asia invaded India during his regime and threw the country into complete anarchy. With his death in 1413 A.D. the rule of the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi came to an end.²³

The unity of the Delhi was disrupted with the decline of the Tughlaqs. Kingdoms in the different provinces of India were established which became the centres of enlightenment and culture later on. On the end of the Tughlaq dynasty, Kḥiqr Khān, the son of Mulk Sulaimān and the governor of Multan at the time of Taimūr's invasion, occupied Delhi and founded the Sayyid dynasty.²⁴ He was a pious, truthful, virtuous, well bred and a man of character. He spent a lot of money in charity. People sunken in languor became prosperous and happy. Though he reigned for seven years and two months, but his authority did not extend much beyond the environs of Delhi.²⁵ Mubārak Khān succeeded Kḥiqr Khān. He followed the path of his ancestor but was assassinated in 1433-34 A.D. at the instigation of his *Wazīr*. Prince Muḥammad, a grandson of Kḥiqr Khān, was then raised to the throne. After ten years he was replaced by his son, Sultān 'Alla-u'd-dīn who died in 1451 A.D.²⁶ After his death Bahlol Lodī, the governor of Lahore, seized Delhi and thus the reign of Sayyid dynasty in Delhi came to an end.²⁷

Thus, from the death of Sultān Fīruz Shāh Tughlaq to Sultān

'Allā-u'd-dīn, the last ruler of the Sayyid dynasty, there remained a dead and dormant period in the history of Muslim Religious Thought. The rulers, in this period, engaged themselves in civil wars, and anarchy and unrest were the order of the day.

Having made a general survey of the attitude of the *Tughlaq* and the *Sayyid sultāns* towards the muslim religion, we may now turn to the muslim society. Muslim society in the 14th century was drifting away from the true ideals and spirit of *Islām*. It was degenerating day by day. Religion was merely a dead formality. It was full of superstitions and innovations. The worship of the saints' tombs was in full swing. And it was but natural. The muslim masses as it has already been mentioned, were generally attached either to *Chishtī* or to *Suhrwardī* order. They were more or less the blind followers of their orders. Most of them were converts from the low caste hindus who embraced *Islām* but could not imbibe its influence deeply. They were habituated to idol worship from antiquity. Though *Islām* kept them away from their idols it failed to bring them before the unseen God in the true sense. Moreover, in their former religion they used to depend on the guidance of *pandits* and *mahants*. After the renunciation of their ancestral religion, they still clung to their directors. They formed a close relationship with them. Whenever they faced any difficulty they ran to their directors for its solution. And it is a pity that this practice continued even after the death of the spiritual guides. Now their graves served as places of refuge for the disciples. Thus, slowly and gradually the graves of the saints were converted into places of worship and sanctity. Fīruz *Shāh* writes in his *Futūhāt-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, 'Again a practice, not permitted by *Islām* had become common in the city of Musalmans. On sacred days large parties of women came out of the city to visit the tombs riding in palanquines, chariots and dolahs, on horses and male buffaloes, often many of them came on foot in large groups'.²⁸

A group of persons appeared at that time who called themselves the lovers of God, but in reality they were mere pretenders. In the garb of saints, they were heretics. They claimed that they were not bound by the laws of *Sharī'at* as they had attained the *Tarīqat*. Fīruz *Shāh* in his *Futūhāt* describes them in the following manner; "Again a sect under the guise of theism, renunciation and celibacy, led the people astray and made disciples, and uttered blasphemous words. For instance, Aḥmad Bihārī, the religious head of these misguided persons lived in the city and was considered to be God by a body of men from Bihar".²⁹

Again, there was a man in Delhi named Rukun-u'd-dīn who claimed to be the *Mehdī*. He used to say, "I am the *Mehdī-i-Ākharuz-Zamān*. I am endowed with inspired knowledge and have not been taught or instructed by anybody. I know the names of all created beings, a knowledge enjoyed by none of the apostles except Ādam. The secrets of science of letters, which were not revealed to anybody, have been revealed to me." He wrote books in support of this claim and invited people to accept these false and erroneous beliefs. He declared himself to be Rukun-u'd-din, the apostle of God.³⁰

Again, one of the Mawla Zadahs (freed men) of Ain-Mahru had set himself up as a religious leader in Gujrat. And collecting a number of disciples, he used to declare 'I am God'. He used to say to his disciples, "I am God; when I say 'I am god', you should repeat 'Thou art' 'Thou art', I am the Lord for whom there is no death".³¹

This was not the condition in India alone but the entire muslim world was suffering from this fatal disease. With the advent of time, however, there appeared men like Ibn Tamiyyah³² at Damascus, and Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli and Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī in India, who tried to reform this state of affairs.

Imām Ibn Tamiyyah, a theologian and jurist was born in 1268 A.D. and died in 1328 A.D. A bitter enemy of innovations, (bida') he attacked the cult of saints and objected to pilgrimages to tombs. He considered a visit paid to the tomb of a muslim a forbidden act. Both by words and writings he combated all the Muslim sects, such as *Kharidjī*, *Murdjī*, *Rāfidī*, *Qādrī*, *Mu'tazilī*, *Ash'arī* and others. He freely criticised and attacked great personalities of *Islām* whose authority is ordinarily recognized as infallible. 'Umar bin Al-Khattāb made many mistakes and 'Ali bin Abi Ṭālib made three hundred mistakes according to his statement. He also vehemently attacked Al-Ghazzālī, Ibn 'Arabi, 'Omar bin Al-Farīd and the sufis in general.

The influence of Ibn Tamiyyah also reached the sub-continent of India through his disciple, Maulānā 'Abdul-'Azīz Ardabālī. 'Abdul-'Azīz Ardabali was held in great esteem by Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq and it was he who greatly influenced the religious outlook and policy of Sultān Firuz Shāh. In the coming chapter we shall discuss the thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and that of Imām Ibn Tamiyyah together, so that we may easily find out the points of similarity and difference between the two outstanding reformers. After Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn we shall discuss the thought of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī.

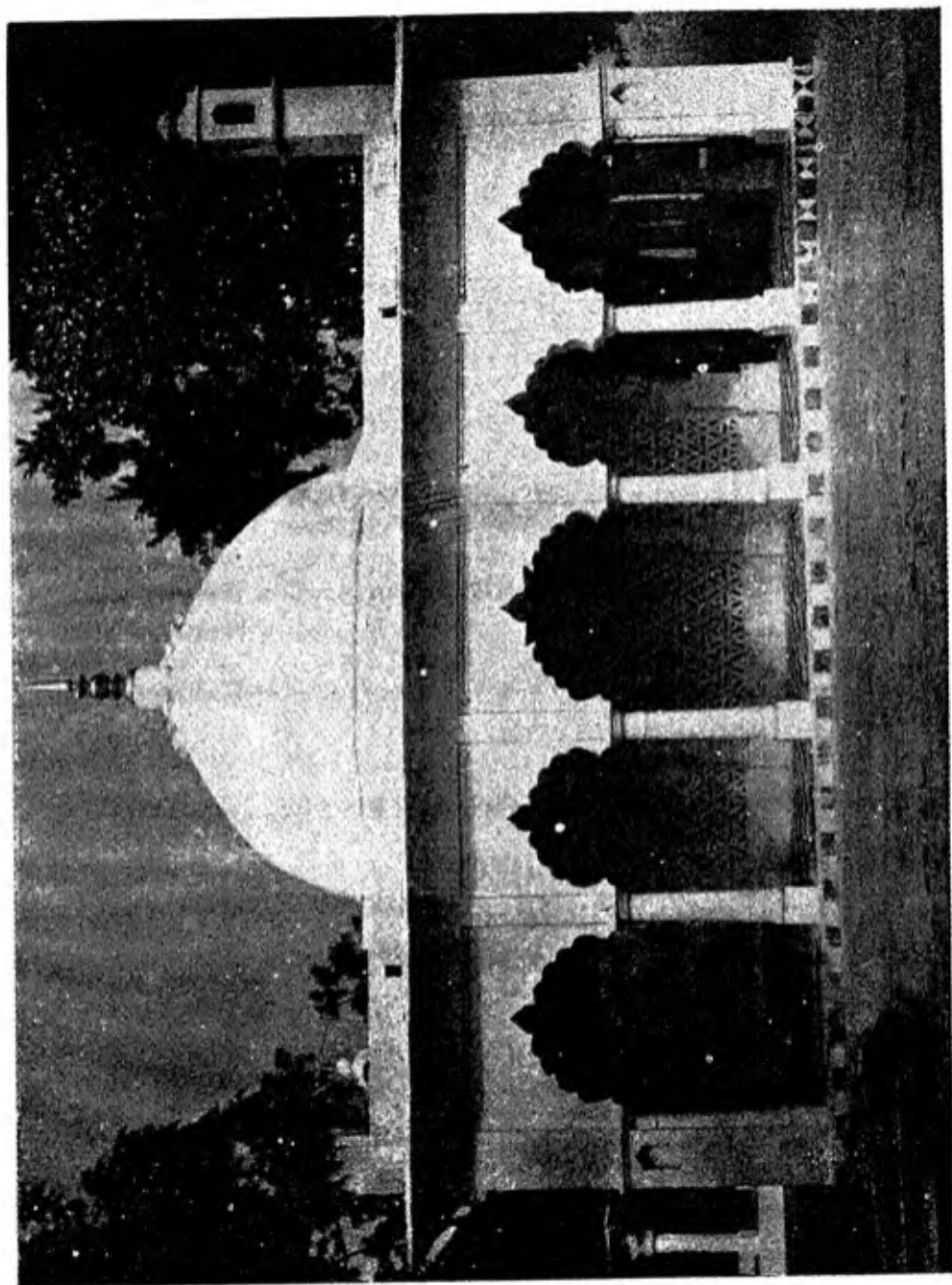
CHAPTER IX

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Delhi

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was born in Owadh and died in Delhi in 1356-57 A.D.¹ When he was nine years of age his father died and he was brought up by his mother. He studied *Hidāyah* and *Bāzudī* from Maulānā 'Abdul Karīm *Shirwānī*. After his death he completed his education under the guidance of Maulānā *Istikhār-u'd-dīn Gilānī*. From the age of twenty five, he absorbed himself in mortification and purification of soul. At the age of forty three, he came from Owadh to Delhi and became the disciple of *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya*. He remained with his director for a long time and formed a close tie of affection with him. One winter night he gave his wrapper to a durveish so that he might not cry on account of cold and his director might not be disturbed in his prayer.² *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya* granted him his *Khilafat-Nāmāh* and appointed him as his successor in Delhi.

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was a man of patience, vigil and penitence. Once he submitted the following request to his director, *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya* through *Amīr Khusro*, "I can not absorb myself in the remembrance of God in the midst of people; I should be given permission for absorbing myself in the remembrance of God in seclusion". "Naṣīr-u'd-dīn you have to live in Delhi in the midst of people", the director answered; "and have to endure the hardships and sufferings inflicted by them".³

True to the instruction of his director, *Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn* remained in Delhi and suffered a lot of troubles at the hands of *Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq*. Contrary to the glorious traditions of *Chishtī* order the *Sultān* appointed him as his servant and assigned him the duty of taking off his clothes.⁴ To punish him (the *Shaikh*) the *Sultān* sent him his meals in a golden plate. The idea of the *Sultān* was that if the *Shaikh* takes the meals in golden plate, it would go against the *Sharī'at*; and if he refuses to take the meals he would violate his order; in both the cases he would be punished. But due to his insight the *Shaikh* understood the intention of the *Sultān*, he put some gravy on his palm and then took the food. Thus, he defeated



Tomb of Shaikh Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehlī

the malicious game of the *Sultān*.⁵

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn strictly adhered to the laws of *Shar'at*. He bitterly opposed innovations. Once the disciples of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn arranged a meeting for *sama'* and began to hear a song from a woman who was reciting on *duf*. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was also there. He stood up to go out of the meeting but his friends insisted that he should stay there. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn answered that it was against the traditions of the Prophet. His friends asked him whether he was opposing *sama'* and going against the traditions of the director. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn answered that he wanted the arguments from the *Qur'ān* and tradition for the legality of that sort of *sama'*.⁶

This example clearly indicates the proclivity of the Shaikh towards the standard of the *Qur'ān* and the Tradition. Though he was the devout follower of his director yet, in deciding the legality of any principle, he fixed his attention on the *Qur'ān* and the Tradition. It was this spirit of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn which led him to deny the legality of the prostration of the disciples before the director, veneration of saints' graves and the use of musical instruments in *sama'*. He said, "Where (in *Ḥadīth* or in *Qur'ān*) is it allowed that there should be *mazāmīr*,⁷ *duf*,⁸ *rubāb*,⁹ and *nai*,¹⁰ in *sama'* and that mystics should dance? The use of instruments is not even permissible (*mubāḥ*) according to the consensus of opinion of the jurists. If a man comes out of *Ṭarīqat* he rests in *Shar'at*, but if a man violates the rules of *Shar'at* where will he be? *Sama'* itself is a controversial issue. It is permissible only with some conditions. But the use of *mazāmīr* in *sama'* is unlawful".¹¹ Thus, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, like Imām Ibn Tamiyyah, fought against the innovations and emphasized the theological aspect of *Islām*.

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn did not compose any book himself, but he trained a group of scholars under his inspired guidance. They were Shaikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn,¹² Shaikh Yūsuf¹³, Qāḍī 'Abdul Muqtadir¹⁴ and Maulānā Mu'in-u'd-dīn 'Imrānī.¹⁵ In co-operation with these scholars he created a theological and juristic atmosphere, which reached its completion and intensification in the *Firuzī* regime. But, inspite of all this progress and development, we do not find a single saint in 14th century who may be placed on equal rank with the saints of 13th century. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn himself says, "What worth have I, that I may be a Shaikh? To be a Shaikh these days has become a child's play".¹⁶ This statement of the Shaikh points to the spiritual hollowness of the saints of the 14th century. And it was only for this reason that Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn did not appoint any one as his successor after his death and

instructed his disciples to bury with him all the things which he received from his director, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya as the legacy of the order.¹⁷

Ḥamīd Qalandar, the poet who was a disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, had a close intimacy with Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn. He collected the sayings of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and named that collection as *Khair-u'l-Majālīs*. It is *Khair-u'l-Mūjalīs* which conveys to us the ideas of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn. Books such as *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* and *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā* also throw some light on the subject.

The chief feature of the thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn is the expression of his own experience. He supports his experiences in the light of the *Qur'ān* and the *Ḥadīth*. When we go through the sayings of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, we find ourselves before a personality and not before a mind just as we found in the case of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. The thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn is not presented in the form of an intellectual discourse or a logical system.

In the course of his sayings, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn has narrated the stories of eminent saints and divines from numerous books.¹⁸ For the sake of brevity we have omitted all such stories. We find in his sayings the references to books like *Iḥyā-u'l-'Ulūm* written by Al-Ghazzālī and *'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*, written by Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī. These references indicate that Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was in close touch with the thought of Al-Ghazzālī and Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī. Dealing with the thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn in the following pages, the views of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn will also be presented at the proper places. The thought of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn has been arranged in the following order:—

- (i) Conception of God
- (ii) Knowledge of God
- (iii) Love of God
- (iv) Vision of God
- (v) Freedom of Will
- (vi) Renunciation of the World
- (vii) (1) Miracles (2) *Qalandar* (3) Worship of graves.

Conception of God

Like other saints of *Chishtī* order, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn presents to us the personal conception of God. God, according to him, possesses attributes. He is generous and merciful. His mercy precedes His anger and dominates over it. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn relates the story of an

infidel who, after idol worship for hundred years, stepped into the mosque, implored God and God responded to his call.¹⁹ This story reflects the personality and mercy of God. God says, "Lo *Allāh* forgiveth not that a partner should be ascribed unto Him. He forgiveth (all) save that to whom He will".²¹

God is not limited in any place or direction. He is free from all forms because He is not a possibility; on the contrary, He dominates over all the possibilities.²¹ The tradition 'I saw God in the night of ascension in the best form' does not indicate the form of God; it indicates the form of the Prophet, a subjective fact, rather than an objective one.²²

As to the relation of man and God, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn does not consider them to be identical. He rejects the doctrine of *Waḥdat-u'l-Wujūd* and agrees with Ibn Taimīyyah and differs from Ibn 'Arabī on this issue.

Ibn Taimīyyah says that there are some people who equalise God with His creatures. The right of worship and obedience which is deserved only by God, has been generalised to every object of the universe by this sect. They take the existence of God as the existence of His creatures. This belief is the worst sort of infidelity. People having this belief regard themselves as real and utter, "I am the Truth". They are Moḥi-u'd-dīn Ibn 'Arabī, Ibn Sabeen etc.²³ But the true conception of God is that God is the Sustainer of His creatures. He is the supreme Being. He is the creator of all the things. He is separate from His creatures. He has neither union with nor incarnation into His creatures; His existence is not identical with the existence of His creatures.²⁴ He is independent of all His creatures. He is One. He has neither been begotten nor He begetteth anyone.²⁵

'Ibn 'Arabī interpreted the verse 'خلق الله على صورته' (He created Ādam after his own image) in pantheistic way. He affirmed on the basis of this verse that God created man after His own image. That signifies that man possesses all the attributes of God. It is His attributes that are manifested in man; they have found physical expression in man.²⁶

But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn differs from this interpretation. He says that the pronoun 'his' indicates the special form of Ādam; it does not indicate the form of God. The special form of Ādam is indicated by the fact that the size and height of Ādam's body with which he was created in the beginning, remained constant up to his death, which is against the natural form of mankind. Man, first passes the stage of childhood; then he attains adolescence, and later on, he becomes old

and dies. But there was no such change in the form of Ādam.²⁷

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn further differs from Ibn 'Arabī in the interpretation of the verse, 'كل يوم موقى شان' (Every day He exerciseth (universal) power).²⁸

Ibn 'Arabī seems to understand by it, *Sifāt* (attributes) at a phase of theirs, at transverse section of the world-process, the universe or God at a certain point of time.²⁹

But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn says that this verse signifies the revelation of the Divine decree. Divine decree is in the eternal pen and God reveals it every day. When it was asked from the Prophet what is the '*Shān*'³⁰ of God. He answered that '*Shān*' of God is that He forgives the sins, makes the miserable happy, raises one nation and crushes another every day.³¹ Thus Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn interprets the term '*Shān*' as the manifestation of the power of God and not God Himself at a certain point of time.

Ibn 'Arabī's *Waḥdat-u'l-wujūd* is brought out also in connection with his theory of the purpose of creation. The purpose of creation, according to him, is the yearning on the part of *Allāh* to know Himself: 'I was a hidden treasure; I wished that I should be known; so I created the creatures', has been cited by Ibn 'Arabī in support of his argument. According to him the yearning to know Himself is the yearning for self-perfection. This perfection consists in expression or realization of His own self through the temporal and eternal qualities that manifest themselves in the world process; in other words in actualising all the qualities that were potentially there in Him.³²

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn opposes this view point. Creation, in his opinion, is not the yearning of God for His self perfection; but it is for the manifestation of His own power. He says that God, for the manifestation of His Godship, created the creatures, heaven and hell, good and bad people.³³ Thus all these statements of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn show unquestionably that he was against the doctrine of *Waḥdat-u'l-wujūd* (unity of existence).

However, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn differs from Ibn Taimīyyah in his anthropomorphic conception of God. Ibn Taimīyyah interpreted most of the verses of the *Qur'ān* literally.³⁴ But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn interpreted them symbolically. Ibn Taimīyyah interpreted the verse, 'الرحمن على العرش استوى' to mean that God is firmly seated upon His throne.³⁵ But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn says that 'استوى' means here to get mastery over (استولى) something and not to be firmly seated literally.³⁶

Knowledge of God

Knowledge (*Ma'rifat*-Gnosis) of the 'unity of God' is possible but the knowledge of mysteries of Divine power and the subtleties of Divine Being are impossible, according to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn. He further says that even in knowledge of the 'Unity of God' God can not be cognised as He should be cognised. He quotes the following verses of the *Qur'ān* in justification: "They measure not *Allāh* His rightful measure".³⁷ "And they esteem not *Allāh* as He hath the right to be esteemed".³⁸

There is a contradiction between intellect and love (*Ishq*), according to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn. Intellect is helpless in cognising God. It is only love (*Ishq*) with the help of which one can reach God.³⁹ Hence for the knowledge of God, love of God is an essential condition. Without love, man's prayers and supplications are not accepted by God.⁴⁰

'Love of God' is possible only through 'rapture of 'God' which is based on mortification. Mortification leads to the stage of inspiration (*kashf*) and inspiration begets gnosis (*Ma'rifat*).⁴¹ Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn justifies this by quoting the following verses of the *Qur'ān*. "As for those who strive in Us, We surely guide them to Our paths, and lo! *Allāh* is with the good".⁴² "And strive for *Allāh* with the endeavour which is His right".⁴³ "And whosoever striveth, striveth only for himself, for lo! *Allāh* is altogether independent of (His) creatures".⁴⁴ According to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn 'Those who strive in us' is the condition and "We surely guide them to Our path" is the consequence which follows.⁴⁵

Mortification keeps the heart away from things other than God and brings it into the service of God. And this is the secret of the verse of the *Qur'ān* 'There is no deity except *Allāh*'. Man possesses lusts and sensual desires. These things lead him astray and obstruct him in the attainment of gnosis. But mortification sublimates lusts and sensual desires. Shaikh Abul Qāsim says that *Sālik* (mystic) should continue his mortification up to the time when the ninety nine attributes of God which are connected with the ninety nine names of God may become his own attributes. Any *Sālik* who does not attain this stage can not attain union with God.⁴⁶

The path of mysticism is the path of sincerity. Therefore one should adopt truth and sincerity. One who does not do any thing except observing prayers five times a day but is sincere in his prayers, is better than the man who abundantly prays but is not sincere.⁴⁷ To

be sincere it is but necessary to see one's own faults. The Prophet says, 'When God takes any man as His friend, He makes that man able to see his own faults'.⁴⁸ A man who sees his own fault is the master of his ownself; and one who is the master of his own self, is a believer in the true sense. And for the knowledge of God, belief in God is the first and foremost condition.⁴⁹

These views of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn regarding knowledge of God very closely resemble those of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī. Knowledge, according to Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, is the gift of God to the human heart and gnosis (*Ma'rifat*) is the realisation of this fact. God has revealed in His book that knowledge resides in the human heart. One who adorns himself with the virtues of the sincere and maintains discipline like the angels, God begets knowledge in his heart. The discipline of the angels implies restraining the lower soul (*nafs*) from following lusts and mean desires and is based on mortification and sincere strivings.⁵⁰ God categorically says that if a man strives in His path, He will guide him.⁵¹

According to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn there are three categories of those who traverse the path of God (i.e. *Sālik*).⁵²

- (i) *Sālik Mutadārik*,⁵³ (ii) *Majdhūb Mutadārik*,⁵⁴ (iii) *Majdhūb Mutlaq*.

Sālik Mutadārik is full of rapturous love of God and *Majdhūb Mutadārik* is on the path of God. So both of them are in need of some Shaikh⁵⁵ (*director*) so that he may teach them the principles of remembrance of God (*dhikr*). But *Majdhūb Mutlaq* who is known as *Majnūn* (mad man) is not in need of any Shaikh.

Besides, there are some sub-categories also, i. e.,

- (i) *Sālik Nā-Mutadārik bajadhbah*—He does not stand in need of a Shaikh.
 (ii) *Sālik Mutadārik bajadhbah* is one who with the power of knowledge, practice and belief traverses the path and attains the rapturous love for God.
 (iii) *Majdhūb Mutadārik basolāk* is one who first attains the rapturous love for God and then traverses the path.
 (iv) *Sālik Wāqif* is one who traverses the mystical path with the aid of knowledge and mortification. But in his case too there remains the possibility of committing errors or of being led astray; therefore, he is in need of a director so that he may be guided along the right path.⁵⁶

Love of God

Love of God, says Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, is inherent in human nature. *Qur'ān* says, "Lo ! We offered the trust unto the heavens and the earth and the hills, but they shrank from bearing it and were afraid of it. And man assumed it. Lo ! he hath proved a tyrant and a fool."⁵⁷ The trust which man assumed is the love of God.⁵⁸

Love in the real sense implies obedience. Any lover who does not obey the will of his beloved, is not the friend but the enemy of his beloved.⁵⁹ Similarly love of God necessarily implies the obedience to the Prophet. So it is quite clear that without obeying the laws of *Sharī'at* it is meaningless to claim love of God. *Qur'ān* says, "Say O Muḥammad, to mankind : If ye love *Allāh*, follow me".⁶⁰ The criterion for the love of God is to follow the commandments of God and to abstain from His prohibitions.⁶¹

Love according to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn is of three kinds :

- (i) Love of *Islām* (*Muḥabbat-i-Islāmī*) : It begins with inclination. When an infidel adopts *Islām*, his inclination towards *Islām* becomes the love of *Islām*. It is a stage for the Common people.
- (ii) Acquired love (*Muḥabbat-i-Muḥabī*) ; It is attained with the help of one's own efforts. A man by observing the rules of *Sharī'at* acquires love of God. It is the stage for the pious and the dutiful.
- (iii) Special love (*Muḥabbat-i-Khās*). It is the result of rapture. It is the stage for the favourites of God.⁶²

But love of God is not one-sided. As the creatures love God, so God also loves His creatures. God says, "When My servant endeavours for My nearness a stage comes that I take him as My friend; and when I take him as My friend, I become his ears, eyes, and heart and through Me, he hears, sees, acts and walks".⁶³ Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī supports this fact by narrating the tradition; "When I love the creature, I become his ears and eyes. He hears and sees through Me and talks through Me".⁶⁴

It has been pleaded by some pretenders that after attaining the end, i.e., the inspiration and the rapture of God there is no need of prayer and the obedience to the commandments of God. Like Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī and Ibn Taimiyyah, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn vigorously opposes this point of view. The end, says, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, involves returning towards the beginning. It implies two things :

- (i) Just as the *sālik*, in the beginning, considers prayer and obedience to God compulsory for him, in the same

manner, he should continue this practice even after attaining his cherished aim.

- (ii) Just as in the beginning the *sālik* is innocent of sins, so in the end too, he is above sins (*Marfū'ul Qāim*).⁶⁵

He further says that there is no stage higher than the stage of prophethood. Prophets, in spite of their deep absorption in God never show any disparity between the external and internal aspects of their behaviour. Other friends of God (*Auliya*) are very much inferior to the prophets in respect of their position and grade. So if any sincere friend of God neglects his prayers, this negligence destroys his sincerity and such a man should not be obeyed by the common masses. For instance, if any man, due to his internal absorption, neglects his *Ṣalāt*, he cannot be followed, because to be followed obedience to *Sharī'at* is necessary.⁶⁶

Shaikh *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* Suhrwardī says, "Some mystics (*ṣūfīs*) boast that their hearts have been absorbed absolutely in the remembrance of God and absorption of heart in the remembrance of God is the end of the individual; hence the rules of *Sharī'at* are not binding on them. They are binding only on a man who is not well-developed and is entangled in the world of appearances. But this sort of belief is heresy and the followers of it are labouring under a great misconception. They are ignorant of the fact that *Sharī'at* is the basis of servitude (*'Abdiyyāt*), and reality, in the true sense, is the reality of servitude. Hence, a man who has attained the reality, is still within the jurisdiction of *Sharī'at*.⁶⁷

Ibn Taimīyyah says that one who entertains the views that there is no obligation of *Ṣalāt* for the mystics (who have attained inspiration or union with God) or absorption in God is better than *Ṣalāt*, or *Ṣalāt* is only for the attainment of inspiration therefore, after attaining inspiration, *Ṣalāt* is not necessary for a man, such a man is an infidel and has turned his back upon religion.⁶⁸ Thus it is clear that for the love of God observance to *Sharī'at* is necessary and there are no exceptions to it.

Annihilation (*Fanā*) according to Ibn Taimīyyah is of three kinds:

- (i) The first kind of annihilation is for the prophets and the sincere friends of God. It signifies the annihilation of all the things except God. At this stage a creature loves God, prays to God and completely relies on God.⁶⁹
- (ii) Second kind of annihilation is for those who have not attained the perfection (in the love of God). In this kind of annihilation, a man becomes unconscious of the presence

of all the things except God. Their hearts have been absorbed so much in the remembrance, prayer and love of God that they can not see any thing except God. Most of the people have committed a mistake at this stage. They took this stage as unification with God and could not notice any difference in the existence of the creature and the Creator. They uttered such things at this stage which they themselves considered erroneous later on.⁷⁰ So many talks of this kind have been narrated in connection with Bayazid, Ibn Baker and Shiblī.⁷¹

- (iii) The third kind of annihilation is for heretics and atheists. The people of this group do not believe in any existence except the existence of God. They believe that the existence of the creator is identical with the existence of His creatures. They also believe in incarnation.⁷²

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, discussing the second kind of annihilation fully agrees with Ibn Taimīyyah. He says that some statements which have been uttered by Shaikhs in the state of ecstasy are شطبات عنق, (overflowings in ecstasy). For instance Khawājah Junaid has said, "There is none in my cloak but Allāh", and Bayazid said, "Holy am I how great is my glory". But these talks are beyond the reach of our understanding.⁷³ In the state of intoxication, a man becomes so much absorbed in God, that he does not see anything except God.⁷⁴

There are various stages of love according to Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn such as Tawakkul (Trust in God), Ṣabr (Patience), Tafweeq, Riqā (Resignation), Rajā (Hope) and Khauf (fear).

Tawakkul means reliance upon God. But to strive for one's own livelihood is not against tawakkul. If a man works for the maintenance of his family, but does not rely upon his own labour, and fixes his eyes upon God, he is observing tawakkul. On the other hand, a man who relies upon his own labour instead of relying on God, is an ignorant man. Because God says, "so put your trust (in Allāh) if ye are indeed believers".⁷⁵

A man who relies on God, God is sufficient for him.⁷⁶ Therefore a true ṣūfī is one who seeks every thing only from God. Now seeking is of four grades :

- (i) In the first grade, when any one feels any need, he prays to God for its fulfilment.
- (ii) In the second grade, a man does not want any thing from God except God.
- (iii) In the third grade, a man surrenders his own will before

the Will of God. It is called '*Tafweeq*'.

- (iv) In the fourth grade, which is the highest of all, a man even does not want God from God.

After the stage of '*Tafweeq*', comes the stage of *Riqa*. For a man who attains the stage of *Riqa* (Resignation) pleasure and pain are of equal value. Again, there are four stages of *Riqa* as well:-

- (i) *Taşabbur* (ii) *Şabr* (iii) *Tafweeq* (iv) *Riqa*. The stage of *Riqa* is the highest of all.⁷⁷

(i) *Taşabbur* : In *Taşabbur*, if a man faces some difficulty his lower soul instigates him to do something for its remedy. Thus he is obstructed by his lower soul.

(ii) *Şabr* : In *şabr*, there remains the obstruction of the lower soul but there is no pain in it. While in *Taşabbur* there is pain in such obstruction. For instance, when a *sālik* is faced with indigence or starvation the lower soul instigates him to go to some one and to procure some thing to satisfy his need. But because at the stage of *Şabr*, a man becomes habituated to it, he endures it and does not feel any pain.

(iii) *Tafweeq* : In *Tafweeq*, a *sālik* surrenders his own will to God. It is immaterial whether he receives reward or sustains injury, both are equal to him. He does not care even for Heaven and Hell.

(iv) *Riqa* : At the stage of *Riqa*, the lover feels pleasure even in pain. God says, "that ye grieve not for the sake of that which hath escaped you, nor yet exult because of that which hath been given".⁷⁸ Here one may raise a doubt as to how actual calamity ceases to cause pain.

Shaikh Naşir-u'd-dīn answers that no doubt there is the realization of pain but that is only at the level of imagination. There is no determination or volition with it and unless there is determination or volition, a man can not be held responsible for a state. For instance a man inclines towards sin, but with the help of Divine light he abstains from it. He can not be called a sinner.⁷⁹

Shaikh Naşir-u'd-dīn affirms that faith lies midway between fear and hope. Fear and hope are the qualities of the Qalb, and are not the qualities of the motor organs. First inclination arises in the heart, and later on it brings motor organs into action.⁸⁰ So the *sālik* should control and guide his motor actions by controlling the inclinations of the heart.

Vision of God

Both Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and Ibn Taimiyyah believe in the vision of God. Both agree that no human being can enjoy the vision of God in this world with his physical eyes,⁸¹ in his waking state. But both admit that God can be seen in dreams in this finite world.⁸²

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn refers to the writings of Maulānā Ḥafīz-u'd-dīn who in his book 'Sharī'at-u'l-'Aqīdah' writes that vision of God is possible in dream.⁸³

Ibn Taimiyyah affirms that man enjoys the vision of God according to the grade of his perfection. If any one is firm in his belief, he enjoys the vision of God in His best form. In dream the reality of the thing cannot be seen. It is only the symbol of the reality which a man perceives. Hence, in dream the believer only perceives the symbol of God and not God Himself.⁸⁴

Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī also affirms that God cannot be seen in this finite world. He says, "God revealed to Moses that no one will see Him ere he dies. The residents of Heaven will see Him because they have no death and they have no change in their forms".⁸⁵

Freedom of Will

Almost all the saints of *Chishtī* and *Suhrwardī* orders during the 13th century, preached the determined freedom of mankind. They affirmed the power of God on the one hand and the freedom of man on the other. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn too, followed the same path. He did not confuse the problem like Ibn 'Arabī. Ibn 'Arabī explains the freedom and responsibility of man on the basis of the unity of existence.

"Man is responsible for his own actions and the maker of his own fate and destiny, not that he is a free agent in an ethical sense, i. e., an agent who wills his own actions independently of any determining factor external or internal, other than himself. Man is responsible, on Ibn-u'l-'Arabī's view in the unique sense that his actions spring directly from him and are determined by his own nature and laws which govern it. Such laws are so fixed and so immutable that even God can not change them. Every thing is pre-destined from eternity". Ibn 'Arabī further said, "that which is in your *thubūt* (latency) comes out in your *qūhūr* (externality), this is the mystery of predestination".⁸⁶

This explanation of Ibn 'Arabī does not satisfy us.

Imām Ibn Taimīyyah too deals with this problem. He affirms that the action and the result which follows from that action are pre-determined by God. He quotes the example of Ādam. The action of Ādam in tasting the forbidden fruit and being turned out from heaven were pre-determined. In the same way the calamities, diseases, fasting etc., which have been faced by a man, have their connection with God.⁸⁷ He quotes the following verses of the *Qur'ān* in justification. "No calamity befalleth save by *Allāh's* leave. And whosoever believeth in *Allāh*, He guideth his heart".⁸⁸ "Naught of disaster befalleth in the earth or in yourselves but it is in a Book before We bring it into being—lo! that is easy for *Allāh*".⁸⁹ "That ye grieve not for the sake of that which hath escaped you, nor yet exult because of that which hath been given."⁹⁰

Therefore man should willingly bear the calamities. And this is the meaning of the term "to be resigned to the Will of God."⁹¹ But this does not mean that if any misfortune comes, one should not do anything for its remedy. When people asked the Prophet whether the people who use medicine in disease oppose the Will of God.

The Prophet answered, "As the disease is decreed by God, in the same way medicine is also decreed by God." Thus, it proves that to use medicine in disease is not to oppose the Will of God.⁹²

In connection with sin, Ibn Taimīyyah says that man can not bring forward the plea of determinism in justification of his sinful actions. Any one who puts forward such a plea is like those who have been called by the *Qur'ān* as polytheists.⁹³ *Qur'ān* says; "They who are idolaters will say: Had *Allāh* willed, we had not ascribed (unto Him) partners neither had our fathers, nor had we forbidden aught."⁹⁴ "Shall we feed those whom *Allāh*, if He willed, would feed?"⁹⁵ "If the Beneficent One had (so) willed, we should not have worshipped them".⁹⁶

This explanation of Imām Ibn Taimīyyah puts before us a problem as to how freedom and determinism could be reconciled. If it was pre-determined that Ādam would taste the forbidden fruit and would be turned out of the heaven, what was the fault committed by Ādam? This difficulty has not been solved by Ibn Taimīyyah.

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn too does not discuss this problem. He simply affirms the human responsibility and human responsibility without his freedom is meaningless. The Prophet says, "There is no alternative for a man but to reap the fruits of his own actions".

Supporting this tradition, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn says that if a man performs good actions, he will be rewarded, and if he commits

sins, he will be punished.⁹⁷ He further says that the states and positions which have been attained by the saints, are the results of their own actions. Actions are of two kinds. One is the action which has been performed by the motor organs of the individual. The other one is connected with the heart (*Qalb*). In the mystic terminology it is called *Marāqabah*. In *Marāqabah* it is the duty of the person to watch his own breath. The Hindus call this practice *Siddhi*.⁹⁸ For the union with God and for the peace of *Qalb*, one should always watch his heart and should always keep it attentive to God.⁹⁹

The perfection of prophethood does not depend on acquisition. It is a Divine gift. But the perfection of the saintship requires acquisition. For the perfection of faith obedience to *Shar'at* is necessary. One who obeys *Shar'at* attains the love of the Prophet. There is no difference among the prophets on the basis of prophethood; there is difference only of grades. In the same way, all the believers, on the basis of belief, are equal. They differ only in grades and positions.¹⁰⁰ And as stated above, these grades and positions can only be attained with individual efforts. *Qur'ān* says; "And that man hath only that for which he maketh effort".¹⁰¹ Effort is only possible when a man is free in his volitions. Thus, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn accepts the freedom of Will for man.

Renunciation of the World

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn favours renunciation of the world. But the renunciation of the world, according to him, does not mean the life of a monastery. His emphasis is only on the remembrance of God. According to him one should remember God at every moment and in every state. *Qur'ān* says, "such as remember *Allāh*, standing, sitting, and reclining".¹⁰² He affirms that it is not bad to earn one's livelihood. The only thing which is bad is not to remember God. If a man is absorbed in worldly affairs, but that absorption does not keep him away from the remembrance of God, it is not harmful to him. But if his absorption in the World obstructs him from the remembrance of God, certainly it is detrimental for him and he should renounce such absorption.¹⁰³

The world has the following characteristics:-

- (i) The first characteristic of the world is that if one worldly desire is satisfied, another comes up and there is no end to these desires.
- (ii) Second characteristic is that if a slight interest is shown in

the worldly affairs in the beginning, a stage comes when man is completely absorbed in it. So a man should keep away from the world. God says that prophets have been sent only to turn the hearts of people away from the world.¹⁰⁴

Miracles

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn accepts miracles. But according to him, miraculous power is not a permanent power. It may come to an end at any time. He quotes the Qur'ānic verses which say, "And her Lord accepted her with full acceptance and vouchsafed to her a goodly growth; and made Zachariah her guardian. Whenever Zachariah went into the sanctuary where she was, he found that she had food. He said: O Mary! Whence cometh unto thee this (food)? She answered: It is from *Allāh*. *Allāh* giveth without stint to whom He will".¹⁰⁵

The above quotation of the *Qur'ān* unquestionably brings home to us the fact that Zachariah was not confident of the permanency of the miraculous power of Mary; that is why he put the same question every time. Mary was a saint; she was not an apostle of God. Therefore her power was the miraculous power (*karūmat*). And there was the possibility of the termination of that power.

Khawājah Khiḍr and Qalandars :

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn differs from Ibn Taimiyyah with regard to Khawājah Khiḍr and Qalandars. According to Ibn Taimiyyah Khawājah Khiḍr had died before the advent of *Islām*.¹⁰⁶ But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn believes in the continued life of Khawājah Khiḍr. According to him, the saint who purifies his soul and attains the nearness of God, may meet Khawājah Khiḍr. Khawājah Khiḍr guides the saints at their different stages in traversing the mystical path. He refers to the story of Khawājah Khiḍr several times in his discourses.¹⁰⁷

Ibn Taimiyyah condemns Qalandars. He says that these clean shaved Qalandars are ignorant and mis-guided persons. Most of them deny *Allāh* (God) and the Prophet. They do not consider prayer and fasting as necessary and they do not take those things as prohibited which have been prohibited by God.¹⁰⁸

But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn respects Qalandars. According to him, Qalandars are the selected friends of God. They shave their beards because they consider the beards as a burden in the way of God. They

go to mountains and absorb themselves in the remembrance of God.¹⁰⁹

According to him, a man can not be a *Qalandar* unless he replaces evil qualities by good qualities. Evil qualities are the qualities of hatred, jealousy, miserliness, lust etc. *Qalandars* are the lovers of God and they conceal their own virtues from the people. They die before death because they kill their passions, lusts and lower soul.¹¹⁰

Thus, we find the views of Ibn Taimiyyah differ from those of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn with regard to *Qalandars*. But when we closely examine their views we find that both are correct in their statements.

The qualities which are associated by Ibn Taimiyyah with *Qalandars* are certainly bad and a man having these qualities is undoubtedly an ignorant and a mis-guided person. But the qualities which were put forward by Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, undoubtedly are good and a man possessing these qualities must be among the selected friends of God.

Worship of graves

Like Ibn Taimiyyah Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was also against the prostration of man before another man and the reverence of graves.

Ibn Taimiyyah in his book '*Ziyārat-u'l-Qubūr*' strongly condemns the 'visiting of graves'. According to him the only permissible thing was to pray for the departed souls.¹¹¹ He was very much against praying to and seeking help from the dead saints.¹¹²

Similarly, Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn also objected to the undue reverence of the graves. But he allowed going round (*Tawāf*) of the saints' graves. Prostration before the directors was allowed for the disciples before Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, in *Chishtī* order. But Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn prohibited it.¹¹³

Life after Death

Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn believes in the life after death and the day of judgment. The following statements of the *Shaikh* bear it out:

(i) Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn says, "After the funeral ceremony of a man, two angels, *Munkir* and *Nakīr* put questions to him about his faith etc.¹¹⁴ The man answers according to his past deeds and attains reward or punishment according to his deeds.¹¹⁵

(ii) The deeds of a living man are presented before his relatives in their graves. If the deeds are good, they congratulate

him and if the deeds are vicious, they pray to God for his guidance.¹¹⁶

- (iii) Any food which has been distributed to the poor for the good of any departed soul gives relief to it.¹¹⁷
- (iv) As a man, generally in his dreams, sees nothing but his own unfulfilled aspirations and desires for which he endeavours, in the same way after death, a man will attain nothing but his own aspirations and desires for which he was endeavouring in the mortal world. A man who aspires for the world will attain the world in his afterlife, if he aspires for damsels and palaces in Heaven he will attain them; and if he aspires for the vision of God he will enjoy it in his after life.¹¹⁸

On the day of judgment a man will be raised on the form and the quality which characterised him in the mortal world and at the time of his death. For instance, if a man possesses lust in excess in the mortal world, he will be raised in the form of a pig and if he has the quality of anger in excess, he will be raised in the form of a leopard.¹¹⁹

Views of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and Ibn Taimīyyah compared

A comparative study of the views of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and Imām Ibn Taimīyyah indicate that both were staunch adherents of Sharī'at. Both prescribed the path of Sharī'at as an indispensable factor for attaining the love and vision of God.

Most of the saints in the 13th century too, were strict followers of Sharī'at, although their views were over laid with emphasis on 'Love of God' and purification of the heart. The importance of Sharī'at was recognised but it was given rather a secondary place. To put it differently, the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth were the basis of their thought yet there was a preponderance of mystical rather than theological elements. In case of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, however, we find a happy exception. Here the theological aspect dominates over the mystical aspect.

It has already been mentioned in the beginning of the chapter that many innovations crept into Islām which brought about a degeneration in muslim society and laxity in moral standards. Islām which had categorically preached the Unity of God, was now making compromise with polytheistic trends. Both Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and Ibn Taimīyyah tried their best to root out these innovations and corruptions from the heart of Islām.

Samā' was patronised by every saint of *Chishtī* order in the 13th century. Even some saints of *Suhrwardī* order like Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, could not keep themselves aloof from it, despite the fact that it was strictly forbidden in their order. But *samā'* which was considered permissible by *Chishtī* saints was not the *samā'* of today. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliyyā says that *Samā'* is of four kinds :

(i) *Ḥalāl* (lawful); (ii) *Ḥarām* (unlawful); (iii) *Mubālḥ*¹²⁰ (Permissible); (iv) *Makrūh* (undesirable). If a man is inclined towards God in *Samā'*, *Samā'* is permissible; if he is inclined towards worldly objects, it is undesirable; if he is completely absorbed in God, it is lawful; and if he is wholly absorbed in worldly object, it is unlawful.

There are certain conditions which *samā'* should fulfil if it is to be permitted. They relate to 'مُغَنِّ' (singer), 'مُتَنِع' (hearer, 'مَسْجُوع' (content of the song) and 'آلِ سَاع' (the musical instruments).

'مُغَنِّ' (singer): The singer should neither be a boy nor a woman, but he should be a grown up person.

'مُتَنِع' (hearer): The audience should consist of those who are absorbed in the remembrance of God.

'مَسْجُوع' (content of song): The song should not be vulgar or puerile or contain anything forbidden by *Shar'at*.

'آلِ سَاع' (musical instruments): It should be without musical instruments or at the most, accompanied by such simple instrument as flute etc.¹²¹

These restrictions on *samā'* could not continue for a long time. Even at the time of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn musical instruments were in general use in *samā'*, so he had to completely ban such *samā'* (with musical instruments).¹²²

It has been generally maintained that Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was influenced by Imām Ibn Taimīyyah. But there is no justification for this view. It was the similarity of their environments which brought both reformers on the same platform. Though there is a close resemblance between the ideas of Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn and Imām Ibn Taimīyyah, yet there are differences as well.

- (i) Imām Ibn Taimīyyah put forward the anthropomorphic conception of God, but Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was opposed to it.
- (ii) Imām Ibn Taimīyyah denied the existence of *Khawājah Khidr*, while Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn affirmed it.
- (iii) Imām Ibn Taimīyyah condemned *Qalandars*, while Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn respected them.

Again, the points in which Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn agrees with Imām Ibn Taimiyyah, are the points which form part of the views of his director, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā explained the conception of God, knowledge of God, love of God, vision of God, nature of soul, freedom of will and renunciation of the world exactly on the same lines. There is a complete unanimity between the director and the disciple on these points. He differs from his director only with regard to the prostration of the disciples before the director.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn never prohibited his disciples from prostrating and bowing their heads before him. The author of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* writes, "Once the discussion arose that the disciples come and prostrate before him (Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliā). Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn answered, 'I wish that I could check people from this practice, but because this practice was allowed by my director, so I did not check them.'"

But this practice was introduced in the order only to make the disciples absolutely free from pride and arrogance and to inculcate in them a spirit of absolute obedience. All the *Chishtī* saints advised their disciples to develop a spirit of humility in their relations with their spiritual guide and master. Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn narrated the story of Shaikh Abū Sa'eed Abul Khair which he heard from his director, Bābā Farīd. It is as follows: "Once Shaikh Abū Sa'eed Abul Khair was riding on a horse. A disciple who was walking on foot, saw him, and rushed to kiss his knee. The Shaikh said, 'Lower still'. The disciple kissed the Shaikh's feet. 'Lower still', said the Shaikh. The disciple kissed the hoof of the horse. 'Lower still', repeated the Shaikh. The disciple then kissed the ground. The Shaikh remarked, 'In asking you to kiss lower and still lower, my object was not to make you pay respect to myself. The lower you kissed, the higher became your spiritual rank'.¹²³

This motive, however pious it might have been in the beginning degenerated with the lapse of time and with the degeneration of society. The Shaikhs of later period began to demand it as a tribute to their greatness and superiority. So Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn completely prohibited this practice. He said, 'It is not permissible to prostrate oneself before any creature, but kissing of lip to lip is permissible'.¹²⁴ Thus, we find that Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was not influenced by Ibn Taimiyyah. It was rather the call of the times which compelled him to emphasize the *Shar'at*.

CHAPTER X

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn, a man of great piety and penitence, was a resident of Bihar Sharīf. He had developed love towards Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya without meeting him. His burning desire to meet Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya attracted him to Delhi, but alas ! Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn was no more in this mortal world when Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn reached Delhi.

Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn Firdosī was the eminent saint at that time in Delhi. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn submitted himself at the feet of Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn. Seeing Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn uttered; "Oh *durveish*, for years together I have been waiting for you. I possess a trust which I have to hand over to you".

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn became the disciple of Shaikh Najīb-u'd-dīn and completed his mystical course under his inspired guidance. After that he returned back but before reaching his native place, Munair, he stayed on his way home in the forests of Agra and absorbed himself in the meditation of God for a number of years. He died in Bihar Sharīf.¹

Like Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī too struggled hard against the innovations and mis-conceptions which were introduced in *Islām* at that time and which were sapping its very vitality. Different sects were appearing in the camp of *Islām* and they were putting forward baseless arguments and reasonings in favour of current innovations. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn with the help of his writing tried his best to refute their arguments and to purify *Islām* from vulgarities and corruptions.

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn says that there are people who demand the explanations and reasons for the performance of *Ṣalāt*. The simple answer to these people is that every one among the divines, Shaikhs and mystics has attained the high position only through the performance of *Ṣalāt*. Hence it is only the path of *Sharī'at* through which a man can attain the boons and bounties of God in the world beyond.²

He further says that there are people who are labouring under

great misconceptions. One of these sects believes that God is independent and absolute; hence He is indifferent to their prayers. They argue that since God is independent of His creatures—-independent of the virtuous and vicious actions of His creatures, there is no need of mortification, vigil and penitence.

Such a conception, however, is based on absolute ignorance. It is erroneous to believe that the tasks imposed on the creatures by *Sharī'at* are in any way advantageous to God. The prayers, vigils and penitences performed by the creatures are for the good of the creatures. It is they, and not God, who are benefitted by them. The *Qur'ān* categorically says, "Whoso doeth right, it is for his soul, and whoso doeth wrong, it is against it"³. The *Qur'ān* further says, "And whosoever striveth, striveth only for himself, for Lo! *Allāh* is altogether Independent of (His) creatures"⁴.

There is another sect which on account of their neglect of *Sharī'at* and attractions for sins puts forward the plea that God is all merciful. He will therefore pardon their sins. But these people ignore the fact that if God is merciful, He is also severe in punishment.⁵ The *Qur'ān* says, "Ask of the children of Israel how many a clear revelation We gave them! He who altereth the grace of *Allāh* after it hath come unto him (for him), lo! *Allāh* is severe in punishment"⁶.

There is a third sect which tries to eradicate passions and anger through a life of mortification. But it is foolish on their part to think so. The *Qur'ān* and the tradition never preach such things. The only thing which has been emphasized by *Sharī'at* is the sublimation of passions and anger.⁷

A fourth sect advocates the theory of absolute determinism among the masses and tries to take refuge from actions behind this belief. But this sect too is on the wrong path. Man should endeavour to attain his allotted share.⁸

These views bring to light the fact that such sects were gaining ground in the fourteenth century. Later on, in the fifteenth century, they took the form of full fledged movements.

Shaikh *Sharf-u'd-dīn*, however, approved of *samā'* which was a distinctive feature of the *Chishtī* order. He like Shaikh *Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya* classified *samā'* into three classes: (i) The lawful, (ii) The Unlawful and (iii) The permissible. He has discussed at length each class of *Samā'* and has quoted frequently the views of *Al-Ghazzālī* in his support.⁹

Visiting the graves was also not disapproved by Shaikh *Sharf-u'd-dīn*. On the contrary, he encouraged people to continue it though he

taught them the correct form of this practice. He says, 'People should acquire the habit of visiting the grave-yards and the graves of the saints and the believers because it carries a great advantage. The visit should, however, be only for the good of the dead men. The visitor should recite the *Qur'ān* and pray to God for the salvation of the departed souls.¹⁰

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn was an eminent scholar of the fourteenth century. He made a remarkable contribution in the field of mysticism. His '*Maktubāt*' is very famous in this respect. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Dehlawi commenting on '*Maktubāt* of the *Shaikh*', writes as follows: "One of the disciples of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn has collected the sayings (*Malfūzāt*) of the *Shaikh*. But the *Maktubāt* of the *Shaikh* contains more subtlety and literary fervour as compared with his *Malfūzāt*."¹¹

Maktubāt of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī once again takes us back to the time of Al-Ghazzālī and reminds us of the affinities between Indian Muslim saints of the 13th century and Imām Ghazzālī. There is a close resemblance of ideas among them regarding gnosis, inspiration, love of God, vision of God, conception of God, nature of soul, freedom of Will and renunciation of the world. Further we find that Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn in his *Maktubāt* has dealt with almost all the topics on mysticism that were mentioned in *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb*.¹² The main conceptions of the thought of the *Shaikh* are as follows: (i) *Sharī'at*, *Ṭarīqāt* and *Ḥaqīqat*; (ii) Conception of God; (iii) Knowledge of God; (iv) The love of God; (v) The vision of God; (vi) The nature of soul; (vii) Freedom of Will; (viii) World; and (ix) Renunciation of the World.

Sharī'at Ṭarīqat and Ḥaqīqat

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī was a theologian as well as a mystic. He has discussed *Sharī'at*, *Ṭarīqat* and *Ḥaqīqat* but has laid great emphasis on *Sharī'at*. *Sharī'at*, according to him, is the basis of *Ṭarīqat* and *Ṭarīqat* springs from *Sharī'at*.

Sharī'at is the path prescribed by the prophets. It includes the unity of God (*Tawḥīd*), cleanliness (*Ṭahārat*), prayer (*Ṣalāt*), fasting, *Jehād*, *Ḥujj*, *Zakāt* and other commandments and injunctions of the *Shara'*.

Ṭarīqat is the search for the inner meaning of these laws of *Sharī'at*. It is to purify one's own actions and to keep oneself aloof from evils such as hypocrisy, lusts and other things which pollute the heart.¹³ For example to purify one's clothes from the impurities is *Sharī'at* but

to purify the heart from human infirmities is *Ṭarīqat*.¹⁴

Sharī'at is the external aspect of the human conduct but *Ṭarīqat* is its internal aspect. There is a close affinity between these two aspects and their ultimate basis is the same. To quote an example, for the acceptance of faith and belief in *Tawḥīd* both profession from lips and consent of the heart are indispensable.

As regards the relation between *Ḥaqīqat* and *Sharī'at* لا اله الا الله, (There is none worthy of worship except God) is *Ḥaqīqat*, while محمد الرسول الله (Muḥammad is the apostle of God) is *Sharī'at*. There is only an apparent difference between the two. In this connection Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn criticises some erroneous views.

According to some scholars and theologians there is absolutely no difference between *Sharī'at* and *Ḥaqīqat*. *Sharī'at* itself is *Ḥaqīqat*. But this is not acceptable to Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn.

Again, some misguided people (heretics) separate *Sharī'at* from *Ḥaqīqat*. They assert that man who attains reality becomes free from the obligations of *Sharī'at*. But this belief is also condemned by Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn. He believes that what has remained constant from the time of Ādam is *Ḥaqīqat*, i.e. the gnosis of God. But what has kept changing from time to time is *Sharī'at*. In other words *Ḥaqīqat* refers to the ultimate goal and *Sharī'at* refers to the means of attaining it. *Sharī'at* is the body and *Ḥaqīqat* is the soul. Just as a living man cannot exist without body and soul, similarly, for the completion of faith both *Sharī'at* and *Ḥaqīqat* are essential.¹⁵

Ṣalāt is the backbone of *Sharī'at* because all other laws of *Sharī'at* are included in it. *Ṣalāt* comprehends the spirit of fasts, *Ḥaj*, *Zakāt* and *Jehād*¹⁶ (to fight against oppression).

To be independent of food is one of the qualities of God. Hence a man who observes fast adorns himself with the virtue of God and obeys the commandment of God,¹⁷ تخلقوا باخلاق الله, (Adorn yourself with the virtues of God).

Worship (عبادة) is of two kinds : one is the physical worship and the other is the worship through offering some property or wealth. *Zakāt* is the worship of the latter kind and has superiority over the physical worship.¹⁸

Ḥaj includes the characteristics of both kinds of worship. To perform *Ḥaj* is as if to visit God.¹⁹ All such writings of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn indicate that he was a staunch theologian,

Conception of God

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn was against the pantheistic conception of God. His notion of God was that of a personal God. God, according to him, is the Creator and the whole universe is His creation.

He says that at the perfect stage of *Tawḥīd* a mystic attains the gnosis of God. His soul is enlightened by the grace of God. Due to the enlightenment of his inner self he does not perceive the existence of any thing except God. As in the bright light of the sun the dust particles become invisible, in like manner, at this stage only the existence of God remains before him. But the invisibility of the particles does not mean that these particles become non-existent. In the same way at the perfect stage of *Tawḥīd* neither the creatures become the Creator nor they become non-existent but due to self absorption in God one forgets the existence of every thing except God.

He tries to explain it by another analogy. When a man is absorbed in the perception of his own beauty in a mirror he does not see the mirror but sees only his beauty. It does not mean that the mirror has disappeared or it has been converted into the image or the beauty has been transformed into mirror; mirror and beauty remain at their own places. Similarly, even after the attainment of highest stage of *Tawḥīd* there remains a difference between the Creator and the creature.²⁰

In one sense, Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn believes in the union of the creature with the creator.²¹ But this union signifies the severance of relations with every thing other than God and absorption of one's self in the remembrance of God.²² In short Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn *Yahyā Munairī* believes that God and His creatures are not identical and there is a personal bond between them.²³

Knowledge of God

Gnosis (*Ma'rifat*), says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn, is the essence of man's soul; salvation and immortality of man lie in its attainment.²⁴ Love of God, the supreme end in this life, and the vision of God, the Summum Bonum, are the direct consequences of it.

It is attained by the purification of the heart from human infirmities. This purification leads to love and love begets complete vision.²⁵ The heart of the individual is just like a mirror. A mystic perceives the grandeur, magnificence and the beauty of God in his own heart. Thus the perfection of gnosis is based on the purification of the heart.²⁶ Purification is of two kinds : one is external and the other is internal.

Just as prayer (*ṣalāt*) cannot be performed without the purity of the body, in like manner, without the purification of the heart from human infirmities gnosis cannot be attained.²⁷ Here Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn fully agrees with the views of Shaikh Ḥamid-u'd-dīn Ṣāfi.²⁸

The knowledge of God includes the knowledge of the Creator and His creation, including the universe and the soul.²⁹ Soundness of reason and careful regard for evidence are the means to gnosis but not the cause thereof; the sole cause is God's Will, His favour and guidance (*Hidāyat*); for without His guidance reason is blind.³⁰

Reason, says caliph Abu Bakr, is helpless in itself. It does not lead³¹ a man on the right path. The function of reason is to see every thing either as a substance or as an attribute; it deals with a corporeal bodies in time and space or with the attributes of such bodies. A man who tries to know God with the aid of intellect either applies these attributes to God or affirms that God does not exist. In both these cases he is an infidel. Thus for gnosis reason is helpless.³² Similar ideas have been put forward by Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya.³³

Again gnosis relating to the soul and the universe, i.e. relating to the works of God, is a means to knowledge of God. It too is attained either through His works, i.e. empirically or through inspiration (*Kashf*); but the latter method is very subtle and defies an easy acquisition. This view of the Shaikh is in conformity with the views of Imām Al-Ghazzālī.³⁴

Knowledge of the Creation

Qur'ān says, "We shall show them our portents on the horizons and within themselves until it will be manifest unto them that it is the Truth".^{34A}

God has manifested His power in the universe. Being and Not-Being of a thing and the changes in the universe indicate the power of God. The whole creation is subdued, powerless, and determined. Thus the nature of creation indicates that the Creator is all powerful and absolutely free. He is One, eternal and possesses the eternal attributes.³⁵

Tradition says, "One who comes to cognize himself, cognizes God"; "One who comes to cognize himself with humiliation, cognizes God with Honour"; "One who comes to cognize himself as a creature, cognizes God as the Creator".

Man is the model of the universe. As universe includes this world, the after world and the '*Arṣūt* (intervals of time), in the same way man is composed of three things: (i) soul (*Rūḥ*), (ii) Lower soul (*nafs*) and (iii) body

(*jasd*). Heaven has been symbolized by the 'soul of the individual', Hell by the *nafs* and '*Arṣāl*' by the calamities, jealousy, savagery and other states of man. As water, earth, air, and fire are the four elements in the universe, in the same way, phlegm, blood, yellow bile and black bile are four elements in the human body.³⁶ Thus we find that the human body is the microcosm representing the macrocosm.

Self cognizance means to cognize the changes in the self, i.e. the disease and the cure, sleep and waking, pleasure and pain, life and death, etc. All these changes manifest the intelligence and power of God, as these changes in the universe and the body are not under the power of things in which they occur. Thus there must be some omnipotent Being who brings about these changes and that Being is God.

Gnosis (Ma'rīfat) : Gnosis is not acquired. It is based absolutely on the grace of God. It is not the fruit of one's search but it is bestowed on man by God. Imām Al-Ghazzālī quotes the Qur'ānic verse, "That is the bounty of *Allāh*; which He giveth unto whom He will".³⁷

Divine light dawns in the heart of a mystic without any cause and condition; this is what is called inspiration (*Kashf*). Inspiration in the real sense is the lifting up of the veil which lies between the creature and the Creator.³⁸ Man, having inspiration, grasps the things which he was not able to grasp before. Inspiration is of different kinds :

- (i) The first kind of inspiration is « کشف نظری » or « کشف مقولات » (Theoretical inspiration). In « کشف نظری » the intellectual vision has been widened and a man knows the secrets of the rational world. Most of the intellectuals and philosophers are confined to this *kashf*. But it is not the real end of the inspiration.
- (ii) After traversing the path of « کشف نظری » a man attains « کشف شهودی ». In « کشف شهودی » different sorts of Divine light dawn in the heart of the seeker.
- (iii) After « کشف شهودی » a man attains the « کشف الهامی ». In « کشف الهامی » a man becomes aware of the secrets of the creation and the existence of the created objects.
- (iv) After « کشف الهامی » a man attains the « کشف روحانی ». In « کشف روحانی » a man becomes aware of the secrets of soul. He, at this stage, knows the place of 'Heaven and Hell'. He sees the angels, hears their voices and talks to them. When the human soul becomes absolutely pure of all the human infirmities the endless Divine world is revealed to him. He rises above the limitations of time and space and knows

the past and the future alike. After surpassing the limitations of the worldly time and space, the seeker attains the inspiration of the time and space of the after world. The veils of the directions have been lifted up, he sees his back side as he sees his front side. The Prophet says, "As I see the front side, so I see the back side".

The *kashf* and the *karāmat* (miracles) occur at this stage. A man having miraculous power walks on water, fire and air. But *karāmat* is uncertain. It can be attained both by the believers and the non-believers; it comes after purification of the heart through mortification. Prophet Muḥammad asked Ibn Ṣabā, "What do you see?" He answered, "I see 'Arsh on water". The Prophet replied, "That 'Arsh is the 'Arsh of Iblīs". It has been said about Dajjāl that he will kill a man and then he will bring him to life again. So the true *karāmat*, which is the by-product of « کشف روحانی » can be attained by believers only.

Man is the mirror of the Essence and the Attributes of God. When this mirror (heart of man) is clear and bright, God according to His own Will, allows any one of His attributes to be reflected in it. If God's attribute of life is reflected in it, man becomes like *Khiṭr* and *Ilyās* who have no death.³⁹

There are two opinions about gnosis (*Ma'rifat*): (i) Dialecticians assert that one knows God as He should be known. They argue that if one has not the complete knowledge of God, it means that some part of God is unknown. But there can not be any division in God. Therefore, complete knowledge of God is possible.

(ii) Sūfīs and some other sects of dialecticians affirm that God can not be cognized as He should be cognized. One cognizes God only to that extent which is necessary for his salvation.⁴⁰ Intellect is helpless in cognizing God because gnosis is the gift of God. One attains perfection in gnosis in proportion to his own spiritual perfection. But human beings are imperfect; hence the perfect knowledge of God is not possible for an imperfect being.⁴¹ Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn agrees with the views of Sūfīs and rejects the views of the Dialecticians.

The doctrine of *Tawḥīd* is the central point of gnosis, says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn. He further says that *Tawḥīd* consists in realizing that there is only one cause which is the cause of all creation. *Tawḥīd*, in his opinion, is of four grades :

- (i) The first grade of *Tawḥīd* consists in the profession of belief in God, only by the tongue and not by the heart. When one says, "There is none worthy of worship except God", one's heart may remain unaffected and there may

not arise any emotion in it. This is the *Tawhīd* of heretics and it is of no use.

- (ii) In the second grade of *Tawhīd* a man utters the formula: 'There is none worthy of worship except God' not merely from the lips but there is also an affirmation by the heart. This sort of belief is the belief of the common people and the dialecticians. The common people come to this belief only by imitation. But the dialecticians attain this sort of belief with the aid of rational arguments.
- (iii) In the third grade of *Tawhīd* a man intuitively apprehends the truth of the above mentioned formula. The Divine light dawns in the heart of the man and the reality of the many becomes distinct from the reality of the One. He sees only one cause as the final cause.
- (iv) The fourth grade of *Tawhīd* is connected with the psychological aspect of the individual. At this stage the seeker after truth sees only one reality. Every thing is effaced from his view and there remains for him only One, all comprehensive and all absorbing reality. The individuality of one's own self has altogether been forgotten. This stage in the *ṣūfī* terminology is called the stage of '*fanā*' (annihilation).

In the third grade of *Tawhīd*, though the seeker perceives only one cause, yet the perception of one cause itself implies duality; there is the cause and the effect following from the cause. Without effect cause is a meaningless term. But in the fourth grade of *Tawhīd*, the seeker does not see any existence except the existence of God. He even forgets his own existence.

Here a doubt can be raised as to how does one overlook the diversity and see only the unity. It can be explained by an analogy. As in the bright light of the sun the particles of dust become invisible, in the same way, after the attainment of Divine light the seeker of God completely absorbs himself in God. Due to his deep absorption he even forgets the existence of his own self. This does not mean that things other than God have actually been annihilated or he (the mystic) himself has become non-existent or he has become one with God but it simply means that he does not see any thing except God. And 'To be non-existent' is different from 'not to see'.

In this sensual world these four grades of *Tawhīd* can be symbolised by a nut. The first grade of *Tawhīd* is the first layer of the nut. The second grade of *Tawhīd* is the second layer of the nut. The third

grade of *Tawḥīd* is the brain of the nut. And the fourth grade of *Tawḥīd* is the brain of the nut possessing oil. There is a lot of difference between one grade of *Tawḥīd* and another grade of it.⁴² Al-Ghazzālī has also discussed the doctrine of *Tawḥīd* and there is a close resemblance between the views of Al-Ghazzālī and those of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn.⁴³

Love of God

Love of God, says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn, remains in veil for human beings. Man attains it with the obedience to *Sharī'āt*. *Qur'ān* says, "Say (O, Muḥammad to mankind): if ye love *Allāh*, follow me".⁴⁴ Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn, here, is in close agreement with Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn.⁴⁵

Gnosis serves as the seed for the love of God. The intensity of the love is based on its perfection.⁴⁶

The Prophet has mentioned the following as a mark of love : When God loves His creatures, He subjects them to distress and when the lovers stand firm in love, He makes them '*Iftanā*'. The meaning of '*Iftanā*' is that God snatches the wealth, family members and the children of His lover. When the lover patiently bears these sufferings, God makes him '*Ijtabā*'. After '*Ijtabā*' the lover attains the stage of '*Iṣṭafā*'. The meaning of '*Ijtabā*' is that the grace of God dawns upon the lover without his efforts and endeavour. And at the stage of '*Iṣṭafā*' the heart of the lover becomes free from all doubt. There are three chief characteristics of the friend of God :

- (i) He prefers the word of God to all sorts of words.
- (ii) He prefers the vision of God to all forms of vision.
- (iii) He prefers the devotion to God to all other devotions.

According to Shaikh Junaid the mark of love (of God) is to feel pleasure in the obedience of God. A lover (of God) does not consider the obedience of God as a burden upon him.⁴⁷

Etymologically the word love (*Muḥabbat*) is derived from '*Ḥubbah*' (seed). The place of '*Ḥubbah*' is under the ground and the place of love is in the human heart. When the seed has been sown into the ground it is immune from rain, heat and cold. At due time the plant comes out of the seed and that plant grows and puts forth flowers and fruits. In like manner, when a lover stands firm in the love of God, the presence and the absence (of the beloved), hardships and calamities, ease and comforts and union and separation do not affect him.

According to some dialecticians the love of God is only a hear-say.

Had it not been mentioned in the *Qur'ān* and the traditions, it would have been difficult to grasp it on the rational basis. Hence they affirm the love of God, believe in it but they hesitate in practising it.⁴⁸

Love, according to some scholars and divines, is the inclination of the self. It refers to desire, wish and intimacy. These are physical qualities and hence they are not applicable to God. So the love of the creatures for God is nothing but the obedience to God. It is the quality of the human heart. Man respects God and seeks His pleasure. He becomes restless in quest of His vision and always absorbs himself in His remembrance. And love of God for His creatures is His guidance and His grace. God grants the lover innumerable boons. He rewards him both in this world and in the world hereafter. He makes him free from the fear of the punishment of Hell and elevates him to higher positions and sublime states. He turns his heart away from every thing other than Him.

But Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī differs from these views. He says that as one creature loves another creature, in the same way, it is permissible that the creatures should love God. The only difference between the two is that the love of God is free from all sorts of sexual relations. But love of God can not be apprehended with the aid of intellect. It is beyond the ken of imagination and understanding. Love is of two kinds :

- (i) عجب جنس به جنس : —It is the inclination of the self. There is a sexual enjoyment in it for the lover and the beloved and it involves the contact of the lover with his beloved.
- (ii) عجب جنس با جنس : —This love is the love of the attributes of God. The lover of God rests in one of the attributes of His beloved (God).

Shaikhs differ with regard to the nature of love. Some of them affirm that the creatures have love (*'Ishq*) towards God but God cannot have any love towards His creatures. They argue that love (*'Ishq*) is a quality of prohibition (منع) of the lover from his beloved. Thus the creatures may be prohibited from God but God cannot be prohibited from His creatures. Therefore it is possible for a creature to have love for God but not vice-versa.

But others object to this view. They do not believe in the possibility of love towards God. They argue that love is to surpass the limit but God is unlimited. They further say that love can be formed only after perceiving the object. But God cannot be perceived in this world with the waking eye. Therefore love (*'Ishq*) with God is not possible.

But again it has been objected to by a third group. They assert

that every thing has its own extremity. When the thing attains that extremity decay begins and the name changes. For example a plant proceeds towards its extremity. Extremity for the plant is to give fruits and flowers. After attaining that stage the plant begins to dry. The same thing happens to human beings. The extreme point in the growth of a man is his manhood. After manhood decay sets in and old age comes.

The same is true to love. Attachment to God in the heart of a lover begins at first with the perception of His beauty. This attachment increases at every moment and proceeds towards its perfection. When the lover attains the highest point of love he becomes free from lusts and sensual desires and independent of union and separation, nearness and distance and pleasure and pain. He does not rely upon himself but completely relies on God. And this is the stage where the love changes itself into cosmic emotion. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn agrees with this group.

He further says that love (*'Ishq*) can not be attained with the help of imagination and intellect; it can only be attained with inspiration. The Divine light dawns in the heart of the lover. It runs like an electric current through the body. It brings light to eyes, hearing to ears and quickness to action.⁴⁹

A lover of God has no fixed destination. He does not find rest in his love. The author of *Kashf-u'l-Mahjūb* writes that God is not limited in space but the lover of God is limited in space and he can not surpass this limit. Hence there is permanent pain in the heart of the lover of God on account of the separation from God. Even in the next world the lover of God will not attain rest because God has unlimited beauty and the lover of God will crave for the attainment of that beauty.⁵⁰

Fear (*Khauf*) and hope (*Rajā*) are like the sun and shadow for the creatures. As sun and shadow are essential for the ripeness of a fruit, in the same way, '*Khauf*' and '*Rajā*' are necessary for the spiritual development of the human beings. In *Rajā* (hope) the creature should be confident of the mercy of God. If he commits a sin equal to the sins of all the creatures and it has been announced that only one person will go to heaven, he should hope that he will be that person. And in '*Khauf*' a man should tremble at the thought of majestic power of God. If he performs good actions equal to the virtuous actions of all the creatures and it has been announced that only one person will go to hell, he should apprehend that he may be that person.⁵¹

Vision of God

Man will enjoy vision of God in the heaven, says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī. Had there been no promise of vision of God in the heaven, no saint would have talked about it.⁵² But vision of God is not the compensation for any action of the individual, it absolutely depends on the grace of God. It can not be acquired with man's own effort.⁵³ Here Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn is in close agreement with the thought of all the *Chishtī* saints.⁵⁴

Nature of Soul

People differ with regard to their views about soul. This disagreement is clear even from the different names such as *jism* (body), *johar* (substance) and *'Arā* (attributes) which have been attributed to soul by different groups of thinkers. It has inevitably led to a divergence of views with regard to the nature of soul.

Soul (*Rūh*), according to most of the christian theologians, is eternal. Some philosophers also support this view. The followers of tradition admit the existence of soul but they do not say any thing about the essence and nature of soul. Divines and jurists, says Khwājah Junaid, are unanimous on the point that God informed the creatures about the existence of soul. God says, "People ask thee (Prophet Muḥammad) about soul". Say, "Soul is the commandment of God". Thus soul belongs to both *'Ālam-i-Khālq* and *'Ālam-i-Amr* and because it belongs to *'Ālam-i-Khālq*, therefore, it is created.

But what is soul? From where has it come? God has said nothing about these things. Therefore nothing can be said about the nature and essence of soul. These questions are subtle and delicate. Human mind is unable to answer them. That is why God too has withheld explanation.⁵⁵

Nafs (Lower soul) is something other than soul. Critics have formed different opinions about it. A group of people says that *nafs* like soul is identical with human heart. Others assert that *nafs* like life, is the attribute of human body. But both agree on the point that good and bad actions flow from *nafs*. *Nafs* may be of two kinds: It may be virtuous or vicious. The vicious qualities of *nafs* such as miserliness, jealousy, hatred and anger can be removed only with mortification.

Dil (Heart) is like the treasury of the king. The treasury gets its worth from its contents. For instance if there are jewels in the treasury, the treasury is valuable; but if there is grass and straw in the treasury, it

has no value at all. In the same way the greatness of heart lies in its attaining the 'love of God'. The treasure of the Heaven consists in the bounties of God but the treasure of the heart is the love of God. Therefore the heart which possesses the love of God is more valuable than the heaven. Heaven is guarded by the angels but the heart is guarded by God Himself.⁵⁶

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya has elaborately dealt with the nature of soul, *nafs* and *Qalb* and there is a close resemblance between the views of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn and those of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī.⁵⁷

Freedom of Will

Some people affirm that the fate of mankind has been sealed from the very beginning. Whether a man performs good actions or bad actions has been determined beforehand in the womb of the mother—nay, even prior to it. There is no change in it later on. Therefore a man's action has no place in shaping his destiny.

This view is erroneous, says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn. Man should endeavour in the way of God. As there are conditions for good health and affluence, in the same way, fortune and misfortune have some conditions.⁵⁸ For example if a man is ill and does not take medicine he will not be cured. In like manner man can not attain good health without taking nutritious diet. In the same way without knowledge and gnosis salvation of man is not possible.

The worst disease of the heart is lust and passion. Hence it is but essential to keep the heart free from lust and passion. But this does not mean that sensual desires should be rooted out entirely from the heart, as one section believes. The sensual desires should only be subdued. For example a dog and a horse are necessary for hunting but they should be trained; in the same way, anger and sensual desires are necessary for knowledge and love of God but they should be sublimated and subdued by mortification.⁵⁹

When the companions of the Prophet asked the Prophet if they should believe in fate and should abstain from actions, the Prophet answered, "Do not withdraw yourselves from actions because if you have good fortune in store for you, your action will bring that fortune to you". As the life and the death of the individual depend on his taking or not taking food, in the same way, the good fortune and the bad fortune of man depend on his obedience or disobedience to God.

A man who has been destined to die from hunger is also checked

from taking food by God. In the same way, if good fortune has been ordained for a man, his heart will be illumined with the Divine light so that he will believe in *Tawḥīd*. He will be inspired to mortification so that he may ward off the evil qualities. As has been said in the *Qur'ān*, "And whomsoever it is *Allāh's* will to guide, He expandeth his bosom unto the Surrender (*Al-Islām*)".⁶⁰ But man who believes that actions are of no use because good fortune and bad fortune are pre-ordained, is an unfortunate man.⁶¹

These statements of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn unquestionably show that God has imposed some limitation on the individual and there is no change in it; because God says, "There is no change in the word of God."⁶² But the individual is free within his limited sphere. He has been awarded both the good and the bad qualities. Now it is the business of man either to develop his good qualities or to be dominated by his bad qualities. The same determined freedom has been favoured by Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn⁶³ and Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn.⁶⁴

World

World, says Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī, is that which is not for the sake of God. The Prophet says that any thing which comes under the category of the world is cursed. Things can be divided into three categories :

- (i) A thing is world both in form and meaning if it is not used for the sake of God. This is the source of all evils. A man who indulges in it does not care for God.
- (ii) A thing, though in its form and meaning may not appear as world, yet if there is worldly intention behind it, it also comes under the category of world, i.e. 'thought' (*Fikr*), remembrance (of God) and the opposition of the lower soul. Apparently they do not come under the category of the world. But if one seeks knowledge only to gain position, reputation and honour, absorbs himself in the remembrance of God only to appear pious in the eyes of people and opposes the lower soul only to be estimated as a devotee by the general masses, each of these things comes under the category of the world and is to be condemned.
- (iii) Sometimes a thing apparently comes under the category of the world but the intention behind it is noble, that thing is not world in reality. For example a man takes food but the intention behind it is to gather strength so

that he may pray to God, it does not come under the category of the world. In the same way, a man marries a woman so that he may have a son who may utter, "There is none worthy of worship except God, Muhammad is the apostle of God" or a man gathers wealth so that he may not be helpless and powerless before mankind and he may be free for the worship of God; such things do not come under the category of the world. According to the *Sharī'at* a man who accumulates wealth for self praise and pride is the enemy of God but if he accumulates wealth to be free from dependence on mankind, he is the friend of God.⁶⁵

These statements of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī clearly show that any thing which is not for the sake of God is world but if it is for God, it does not come under this category, and this view of the Shaikh is in accordance with the view of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya.⁶⁶

Renunciation of the World

For the spiritual development of the individual it is but necessary to renounce the world, states Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī. He further says that prayer itself is uncertain without the renunciation of the world because the heart can seek only one thing at a time; hence the love of the world and the devotion to God can not go side by side. There is a wide difference between the two. If a man is externally absorbed in the world but internally tries to be absorbed in prayer and devotion, it would be very difficult for him.

The world and the after world are on extremes like east and west. If a man proceeds towards the east, he becomes farther and farther away from the west. In the same way, if a man entangles himself in this world, it is very difficult for him to attain comfort in the after world. According to Abu-Darda the world and the after world and the prayer and trade can not go side by side.⁶⁷ But 'Umar, the caliph says that he succeeded in combining the world and the after world and it was due to Divine help. Thus according to Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn it is only the grace of God that enables a man to attain both the world and the after world.

The renunciation of the world has great importance. According to the Prophet a short prayer of two *rik'at* of the man who renounces the world is better than the sum total of the prayers of all the pious men, till the day of judgment. Hence it is the duty of the devotee to renounce the world and to understand the meaning of abstinence.

Abstinence, according to divines, is of two kinds : One is that which is under the power of man and the other one is beyond his power. Abstinence which is under the power of man includes three things :

- (i) A devotee renounces the search of the things which he does not possess from the world.
- (ii) He renounces the things which he possesses from the world.
- (iii) He internally intends to renounce the world.

But the abstinence which is beyond the power of man is to renounce the world completely. After attaining the abstinence which is under the power of a devotee he attains the abstinence which is beyond his power, by the grace of God.⁶⁸ According to the saints, abstinence is the basis of all the goodness. It is the root of all the honours and high position in the way of God.

Love of the world, says Khawajah Faḍal bin 'Ayāz, is the cause of all the vices and the renunciation of the world is the source of all the goodness.⁶⁹

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

The present study which aims at analysing the Muslim Religious Thought in India from 1200 A.D. to 1450 A.D. leads us to the conclusion that nearly all the outstanding Muslim mystics during this period advocated the Theistic Philosophy. The most essential feature of this Theism is its 'Dualism' as distinguished from 'Monism', the chief feature of Pantheistic Philosophy. This Philosophy accepts the existence of God on the one hand and the existence of the creation of God on the other. Though the existence of the creation of God is based on the will and power of the Creator, yet it cannot be declared as illusion or *maya* (as professed by Shankara), or merely the modification of the One, absolute Substance (as put forward by Spinoza), or identical with God (as propounded by Ibn 'Arabī in his doctrine of *Waḥdat-u'l-Wujūd*). The existence of the creation, i.e. soul and the universe, is real and separate from the existence of God.

Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Shāikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehli and Shāikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī unambiguously supported the above contention. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī asserted that Union between God and His creatures is inconceivable. It is impossible that God should be incarnated in His creatures or become one (*Ittiḥād*) with His works. There is the possibility of *waṣūl* only, which is not union but the subjective state of the lover in relation to the beloved (God), in which the lover (creature) imagines himself to be united with God.¹

The stage of absolute annihilation in which the creature does not see anything except the existence of God, according to Shāikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, is due to the love of God. It was at this stage that Khwājah Junaid said, "There is none in my cloak but *Allāh*", and Bāyazīd uttered, "Holy am I, How great is my Glory". This stage is the outcome of the ecstatic mood of the creature. It does not efface the distinction between the creature and the Creator².

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī also asserts that the creature is not identical with God. The perfect stage of *Tawḥīd* (unity of God), when a mystic does not see the existence of anything except God, is the subjective state of his mind. In reality a creature can never be equal to God.³

All these examples bring the fact home to us that the Muslim mystics of India preached a kind of 'Dualism' and not absolute 'Monism'.

After admitting the separate existence of God and His creatures the question naturally arises as to the relation between God and His creation.

The Theistic Philosophy of the type that we have been discussing, lays down that there is a personal relation between creature (*Bandah*) and God (*Khudā*). The creatures love God, worship Him, come in contact with Him, implore Him at the time of need and distress, endeavour to attain His nearness and try to enjoy His vision. All these yearnings on the part of the creatures imply the conception of a Personal God.

The conception of a Personal God also implies certain qualities and attributes. He possesses the attributes but these attributes are not the essence of God, (as put forward by Mu'tazilites) but they are over and above His essence. In short this kind of Theism implies that God is self conscious, merciful, just, and possesses grace. The grace of God implies His absolute freedom and the absolute freedom implies His absolute power. Thus God is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, so that He may watch over the activities of the creatures. But these are not all. The most distinctive mark of personality is that God should respond to the call of His creatures.

It is this conception of God and the personality of God which is put forward by Muslim mystics of India. They preached that God possesses attributes; these attributes are not His essence but are over and above His essence. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī said that God possesses attributes but His attributes do not have priority over His essence; they are over and above His being. His perfection does not lie in His attributes but He is perfect in Himself.⁴

Again, they were all unanimous in preaching that God is omnipotent and omniscient. He is absolutely just. He possesses grace and responds to the call of His creatures.

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya's views on this issue may be summarised in his own words :

"God is omnipotent. He confers honour on whomsoever He wills and inflicts disgrace on whomsoever He wills. He causes a man to die and again infuses life into him.⁵ He is the only bestower. When He bestows anything on anyone, no power can check Him. He is the only creator;⁶ every action which a man performs, whether good or bad, has been created by God.⁷ He is the only governor. Even the Kings are under His grip. He appoints the kind hearted or the cruel kings to rule over His creatures, according to their deeds.⁸ He is self-conscious. He alone knows when the day of Judgment will occur. He alone knows whether an embryo will develop into a boy or a girl. He alone has the knowledge of Tomorrow. He alone knows the place where a man will die.⁹ He is just and treats His creatures on the basis of grace and justice. He is always and every where with His creatures but His being together (*ma'iyyat*) with His creatures is like the being together of soul with the body. He is with His creatures; but at the same time, He is separate from them."¹⁰

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya further said, "Moses asked God, 'Oh Benefactor, are you near, so that I may call you slowly, or are you at a distance, so that I may call you loudly. I hear your voice but I do not see you. Where are you'?

God answered, 'I am in front of you, behind you, to your right and to your left and every where. When any creature remembers Me, I am by his side and when he calls Me, I am near him.'¹¹

These wordings of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya unequivocally refer to a Personal God. He is not the Being who is a pure concept, one that arises from mere logical necessity; He is not unqualified or indeterminate Being; He never incarnates Himself into any one of His creation. On the contrary, He has His own personality. He is immanent in His creatures but at the same time, He is also transcendent.

Now the next important problem is that of 'Epistemology'. Under epistemology two questions may be raised :

- (i) Is knowledge of God possible?
- (ii) If it is possible, what are its sources ?

In answering the first question all the mystics agree on the point that knowledge of God (*Ma'rifat*) is possible; but Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn said that only knowledge of the unity of God is possible but the know-

ledge of the mysteries of the Divine Power and the subtleties of the Divine Being is impossible.

Further, they are unanimous in their opinion that God cannot be cognised. They supported their views by the following verses of the *Qur'ān*: "They measure not *Allāh* His rightful measure".¹² "And they esteem not *Allāh* as He hath the right to be esteemed".¹³

With regard to the sources of knowledge of God, there may be three possible sources: (i) Senses (ii) Reason (iii) Inspiration (*Kashf-Ilhām*) or Revelation (*Waḥī*). The mystics utilised all these three sources.

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī said that knowledge of God includes the knowledge of the Creator and the creation, the latter including the universe and the soul. God can be apprehended either through His works, i.e. empirically or through inspiration (*Kashf*), but the latter method is very subtle and defies an easy acquisition. Soundness of reason and careful regard for evidence are the means to gnosis, but not the cause thereof; the sole cause for gnosis is God's Will, His favour and guidance; for without His guidance reason is blind.¹⁴

They further supported the tradition that one who knows his own self, knows God. Thus the cognizance of the universe and the soul through senses and reason is only the means to the knowledge of God. They emphatically assert that intellect by itself cannot cognise God. Because intellect in grasping the thing either sees that thing as a substance or as an attribute; it deals with corporeal bodies in time and space or with the attributes of such bodies. So, when efforts have been made to know God through intellect, intellect either applies the above mentioned attributes to God or declares that God does not exist. Hence they hold that intellect by itself is helpless in cognising God, as Kant proved in his 'Critique of Pure Reason'. Gnosis (*Ma'rifat*) can only be attained through inspiration or revelation which is the Divine gift and in which man's acquisition has no place.

Knowledge of God has direct relation with the love of God. Perfection in gnosis leads to perfection in love (of God). So the love of God was declared by them as an ultimate end in this finite world. For the love of God the following things are considered indispensable by them:

- (i) A man should strictly obey the laws of *Shari'at*.

- (ii) He should purify his heart from the love of all things other than God.
- (iii) He should always absorb himself in the remembrance of God.

They all despised the love of the world. World, they interpreted, as that which kept a man away from God. Thus they very much emphasized the renunciation of the world. Love of God and love of the world, they said, cannot go side by side. But they did not preach the ascetic and monastic life; on the contrary, they emphasised and encouraged service to humanity at large. They said that the worldly objects cannot be loved as ends in themselves but can be loved only as means to the love of God. The moment the worldly objects check a man from the remembrance of God, they should be renounced. Thus they favoured the renunciation of the world only to check people from indulging in mundane and evil desires.

Love of God, they assert, begets the Vision of God. Vision of God, according to them, can not be enjoyed in this finite world with the physical eyes in the waking state of life; but it is possible to enjoy it in dream in this finite world. Vision of God was declared as the highest bliss for the dwellers of Heaven and hence, it was made the *Summum Bonum* for mankind.

Now the next problem that faces us is the problem of soul. None of these mystics discussed at length the nature of the soul. Only Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī have touched this problem briefly. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī confined himself to the Qur'ānic verse, "They will ask thee (the Prophet) concerning the Spirit (*Rūh*). Say: The Spirit is by command of my Lord, and of knowledge ye have been vouchsafed but little".¹⁵ Thus he concluded that soul belongs both to '*Ālam-i-Amr* (Transcendental World) and '*Ālam-i-Khalq* (Physical World). Because it belongs to '*Ālam-i-Khalq*, therefore, it is created. But as it belongs to '*Ālam-i-Amr*, it is eternal.

Both of the above mentioned mystics hold that soul is spiritual in nature but they observe silence regarding the essence of soul. They differentiated between soul and lower soul (*Nafs*). Soul, they said, is the resort of good actions while the lower soul is the source of evils. They also explained the heart (*Qalb*). They said that the heart is

something midway between soul and lower-soul. If soul dominates the heart, good actions follow, but if the lower soul overpowers it, bad actions result.

Discussion about the nature of soul leads us to the problem of freedom of Will. Almost all the mystics have discussed this problem in their own way. They do not logically discuss this problem. But they are emphatic on the point that man does not possess absolute freedom. They accepted the sovereignty of God but at the same time ascribed freedom to man. They hold that potentialities for actions have been provided by God; man has no place in it. But it depends upon the sweet will of man whether he rightly uses or mis-uses the given potentialities. And so, they accept the determined freedom of human beings.

Thus from the discussion on conception of God, knowledge of God, love of God, Vision of God, Nature of soul and renunciation of the world we come to the conclusion that they were unanimous in presenting a philosophy which is essentially a Theistic Philosophy.

Another important feature which characterises the Religious Thought of this long period of two and a half centuries, is the uniformity of ideas of the Muslim saints. There was a central organisation of *Chishtī* mystic order which must have contributed to this uniformity. But there was no vital difference on these problems between *Chishtī*, *Suhrwardī* and *Firdosī* mystic saints. But just after the decentralisation of *Chishtī* mystic order difference in Muslim Religious Thought arose which came to the fore-front from the middle of the fifteenth century onward, in the guise of *Mehdevī* movement, *Bhaktī* movement and *Shattārī* movement.

The third main characteristic of this period is the similarity of Thought between the Muslim mystics of India and Imām Al-Ghazzālī and *Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī*. Though Muslim mystics in India conveyed almost the same ideas as were preached by Al-Ghazzālī and *Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī*, but their greatest contribution lies in presenting these ideas to a non-Muslim environment. They, with their purity of Thought and sublimity of character, preached the doctrines of *Islām*; they did it not only theoretically but by living upto them.

Last but not the least important phase of this period is the equal

emphasis on *Sharī'at* (the external laws of *Islām*) and *Ṭarīqat* (the mystic way). From this point of view the whole period may be divided into two parts. The first part lasted from 1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D. and the second part covers the period, 1326 A.D. to 1450 A.D. The Muslim saints within the period 1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D., emphasised *Ṭarīqat* instead of *Sharī'at*. *Sharī'at* was declared only as a means for the attainment of *Ṭarīqat*. All of these saints laid emphasis on the purification of the heart from human infirmities and on love of God. They gave the message of love, equality and brotherhood to Indians. And as a result thousands of Non-Muslims embraced *Islām*.

But just after the death of *Shaiḥ* Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya (1325 A.D.) the Muslim Religious Thought took a new turn. The policy of Muslim rulers towards the saints changed. Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughlaq compelled the Muslim saints to join the government service which was against their tradition. The saints revolted against the order of the Sultān and were mercilessly punished and massacred. Thus the central spiritual organisation of the Muslim saints came to an end.

This attitude of the Sultān brought about rigidity in the external laws of *Sharī'at*. The country at that time was full of scholars ('*Ulamās*'). These '*ulamās*' confined themselves strictly to the formal rules of *Sharī'at*. The doors of *ijtihād* were already closed and they were not ready to modify the rules framed by the four renowned jurists of *Islām*. The Muslim Religion was reduced to a formal discipline. They disliked the ways of the Muslim mystics, misused the laws of *Sharī'at* for their personal gain and developed hatred and enmity among themselves. Muslim mystics by their conduct tried to assuage the wounds of the masses who were tortured by the rulers, but these so-called '*ulamās*', on the contrary, harassed them and made them restless. Thus the mass conversion to *Islām* which was a notable feature of the 13th century, came to a dead stop.

APPENDIX

Some of the apocryphal sayings (*Malfūzāt*) of the Ṣūfis of this period

Some Ṣūfī books (*Malfūzāt*) which have been popularly attributed to the great saints of this period are in fact apocryphal and falsely ascribed to those famous Ṣūfis. Some of them are as follows: '*Anīs-u'l-Arwāḥ*', '*Dalīl-u'l-Ārifīn*', '*Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn*', '*Asrar-u'l-Auliya*', '*Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*', '*Afḍāl-u'l-Fawā'id*', and '*Miftāḥ-u'l-Āshiqīn*'. They are fabrications on the following grounds :

(i) Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Shaiḥ Naṣir-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli are the eminent personalities of the *Chishtī* order (*silsilah*). We have in our possession their reliable and authentic *malfūzāt* (collection of sayings), the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* and *Khair-u'l-Majālis*. The statements given by these personalities in these *malfūzāt* go against the contents of the above books.

Amīr Ḥasan records on Wednesday, 15 *Moḥarram*, 709 A.H. (June, 1309 A.D.) in the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* :

"A friend was present. He said, 'A man showed me a book in Oudh and said it was written by you'. Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya replied, 'He spoke wrongly, I have not written any book'."

Ḥamid Qalandar records in *Majlis* No XI of the *Khair-u'l-Majālis* :

"A friend represented after this. There is a difficulty in the *Malfūz* (Conversations) of Shaiḥ 'Uthmān-i-Hāroonī. It is this. He says, 'He who kills two cows, commits two murders (*Khūn*). He who kills four goats, commits one murder and he who kills twenty goats, commits two murders'."

"First, Shaiḥ Naṣir-u'd-dīn replied, 'the word is not Hāroonī but Hāroonī. Hāroon is a village and Khawājah 'Uthman used to live in it. It has been said about him and about people like him, 'Men live in villages'. Many Shaiḥs and men of God are to be found in villages."

"Then he added: 'These *malfūz* are not his. I have also come across this manuscript; there are many statements in it that are not worthy of him'."

"Then he added : 'Shaiḥ Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya has said, 'I have written no book, because neither Shaiḥ-u'l-Islām Farīd-u'd-dīn, nor

Shaikh-u'l-Islām Qutb-u'd-dīn, nor the Chishtī saints (Khwājgān), nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of my order have written any book'."

"I represented". "It is stated in the Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād that some one came to Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and said that he had heard a man declare that he had seen a book written by the Shaikh and that the Shaikh replied, 'I have written no book and my masters (also) have written no books'."

"The Shaikh said, 'yes, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya has written no book'."

"I asked again, 'These manuscripts that have appeared in these days, the Malfūzāt of Shaikh Qutb-u'd-dīn and the Malfūzāt of Shaikh 'Uthmān Hāroonī—did they not exist in the time of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya'?"

"Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn replied: 'They did not; otherwise the Shaikh would have ordered and they would have been destroyed'."¹

Thus the statement of Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn proves beyond doubt that these malfūzāt are pure fabrication.

(ii) The authors of these fabricated malfūzāt have made false statements about well-known facts and dates of Indian History of which the Chishtī Shaikhs, to whom they are attributed could never have been guilty. Prof. Ḥabīb in his article, "Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period" has clearly proved this point.²

(iii) The analysis of the contents of these malfūzāt itself reflects that they are fabricated. There are some contents which agree with the views of the great saints but there are others which have been unduly exaggerated. Some of them go against the Shar'at and some seem to refer to a supernatural world. Here, the contents (which include all the above types of contents) of some of the fabricated books (Malfūzāt), i.e. Anīs-u'l-Arwāh, Dalāl-u'l-Ārifīn, Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn, and Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb have been presented in the order in which they occur in the books.

SECTION 1

The Anīs-u'l-Arwāḥ

It is alleged that the book '*Anīs-u'l-Arwāḥ*' is the collection of the conversations of Shaikh 'Uthmān Hāroonī, written by Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn of Ajmer. Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn is made to describe his enrolment as a disciple of the Shaikh in a very supernatural manner. It has been put into the mouth of Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn that he saw the 'great throne' (*Arsh-i-Āzām*), 'the depths of the Earth', 'up to the curtain of Highest' and the 'Eighteen thousand spheres' (*Ālam*) in course of his innunciation.³

A detailed account of the wanderings of Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn with his master has been stated.⁴ It has been further shown that after the wanderings for twenty years, Shaikh 'Uthmān Hāroonī adopted a life of a recluse in Baghdād.

'I will not come out (of my house) these days', the Shaikh said to Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn, 'come to me every day at *chāsh* time (before noon). I will direct you in *faqr* (mysticism) so that you may remember me by it'. Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn as directed by his teacher, went to the Shaikh's retreat every day and wrote down what he heard from him. It is divided into twenty eight *majālis* (conversations).⁵

The *majālis* or conversations recorded in the *Anīs-u'l-Arwāḥ* cover a variety of topics but completely exclude topics such as '*Tawḥīd*', 'Gnosis', 'Vision of God', 'nature of soul' and 'freedom of will'. Topics such as rules of faith, repentance of Ādam, the nawiz drink, earning a livelihood, long sleeves and the folds (*paicha*) of the trousers (*shalwār*), sending lamps to mosques, killing of the animals, heaven and its dwellers, *Ṣalāt* (prayer) and its importance, charity and the renunciation of the world, etc., have been discussed.

Faith, says Prophet Muḥammad, is naked in itself. Its dress is piety; poverty serves as its cushion and knowledge is its medicine. It neither increases nor decreases. It consists in the uttering, i.e. 'I testify that there is none worthy of worship except GóD and Muḥammad is the apostle of God'.⁶

In connection with *Ṣalāt* (prayer) it has been categorically stated that a man who keeps himself away from prayer is an infidel.

The tradition, 'one who abstains from *Ṣalāt* willingly is an infidel',

has been quoted in this concern. It has been further stated that according to *Shar'at* a man who denies the obligatory prayers is an infidel.⁷

Later on *Ṣalāt* and its importance have been discussed. The practice of *Khawājah* Yūsuf Chishtī, *Khawājah* Junaid Baghdādī, *Khawājah* Shiblī and *Khawājah* 'Omar Nasfi have been mentioned in this connection.⁸

For the believer (in God) three things have been laid down as indispensable :

- (i) A believer in God loves his death.
- (ii) He loves poverty.
- (iii) He loves disease.⁹

One who remembers his death has been declared the greatest devout.¹⁰

It has been further said that any one who remembers Prophet Ādam (مُحَمَّد) three times, all his sins are forgiven, though these may be greater in quantity than a river; and one who remembers Prophet Dā'ūd three times goes to heaven by any door he likes.¹¹

The above mentioned saying is not worthy of *Khawājah* 'Uthmān Hāroonī or of *Shaikh* Mu'in-u-d-dīn. They are the eminent personalities in Islāmic mysticism and cannot be expected to make such a loose talk.

Special emphasis has been laid on charitable deeds. *Khawājah* Yūsuf Chishtī in his fatāwāt writes that the best action is to give alms. Giving alms is better than the recitation of the *Qur'ān*.

When 'Alī, the fourth Caliph, asked Prophet Muḥammad, 'whether recitation of the *Qur'ān* is better or giving alms.'

Prophet Muḥammad replied that giving alms is better than the recitation of the *Qur'ān* because it makes a man immune from hell fire.¹²

It has been stated in '*Āthār-i-Auliya'* that giving alms is a light which is better than thousand genuflections.¹³

Prophet Muḥammad says that the best action for my followers is to perform prayer. After that it is the giving of the alms and then comes the recitation of the *Qur'ān*. He further says that one who is affectionate towards his neighbours, will go to heaven.¹⁴ He again says that one who gives bread to Durveishes, all his sins will be forgiven by God and a man who sets a slave free will attain as many spiritual rewards as there are veins in the body of the slave, and will not die until God has forgiven the sins of all his youngsters and elders, father and mother and seventy other family members.¹⁵

Here again an undue emphasis has been laid on giving alms and setting a slave free. The author has declared the above sayings as

authentic traditions. But the contents of these sayings indicate that they are far from authentic. It is for the traditionist to declare them void.

Three kinds of people, says 'Uthmān Hāroonī, will not go to heaven;

- (i) Those people who tell a lie;
- (ii) Rich men who are misers;
- (iii) Business men who are cheaters.¹⁶

The obedience of wife to her husband has been unduly emphasized. It has been said, 'If a man in his night clothes calls his wife to him, and she does not go to him but keeps aloof, she is rid of all her past virtues even as a serpent comes out of his skin.'¹⁷

Killing of the beasts has been strictly condemned. It has been narrated that Prophet Muḥammad says, 'One who kills forty cows commits murder and if a man kills an animal for the satisfaction of his physical desire except on occasions when it is permitted, it is as if he had helped in desolating the Ka'abāh.'¹⁸

An extraordinary significance has been attached to a daughter. It has been said that according to the Prophet one who is happy on having daughter is better than that man who visits ka'abūh for seventy times and than the man who sets seventy slaves free. It is stated in 'Āthār-i-Auliya' that if a man has one daughter, then there is so much distance between him and the hell-fire that can be traversed in five hundred years.¹⁹

In connection with the diet of the residents of heaven it has been said that according to the Prophet, a resident of heaven will take as much diet as taken by one hundred men and will be in the company of his family members there.²⁰

All these statements (the status of a wife, the killing of beasts, the importance of having a daughter and the diet of a resident of heaven) represent mysticism in a poor light. Such thing could never have been uttered by the Prophet and they can not be authentic statements of Shaikh 'Uthmān Hāroonī even.

For the love of God, the complete detachment from all the things other than God has been made essential. The instruction of Shaikh Seowastānī has been quoted. According to Shai'ch Seowastānī a lover of God should not absorb himself in anything other than God. The tree of love has two branches; union and separation. A man who keeps himself away from all the things other than God and absorbs himself in the remembrance of God, attains the union of God. But a man who absorbs himself in things other than God suffers from separation of God.²¹

A supernatural touch has been given to the eclipses of the sun and the moon. It has been categorically said that the excess of the creature's sins causes these eclipses. A detailed account of the effect of the eclipse in different months has been given.²²

The sins of the creatures have further been declared as the cause of the devastation of the cities.²³

SECTION 2

Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn

It is alleged that the book, 'Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn' is the *Malfūzāt* of Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn Chishtī compiled by Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, the disciple, Khalīfah and the successor of the Shaiḫ.

The whole book contains twelve *majālis* (conversations). The conversation begins from the mosque of Imām Abul-Laith Samarqand (Baghdād) where Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn was initiated and ends in Ajmer. It opens with the discussion of *Ṣalāt* and its importance. The different kinds of *Ṣalāt* (prayer), their merits, *Wird* and *Wazāif*, punctuality in the performance of *Ṣalāt* and the sins which accrue from its non-performance, have been discussed thoroughly.

These discussions indicate the attitude of Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn towards the *Sharīʿat*. It further indicates the general trend of the Muslim populace of those days. They were highly impressed by the talk of Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn and were strict in the observance of *Sharīʿat*.

The next importance, in the course of these conversations, has been given to mysticism. Love of God is the core of mysticism and Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn discusses at length 'the love of God'. A man is true in the love of God, says Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn, if he willingly bears the calamities inflicted by his beloved (God).²⁴

Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī says that a man is true in the love of God only when, overpowered by the love of God, he reaches a stage at which he does not feel any pain even if he is given hundred sword strokes.

Khawājah Ajal of Shirāz says that a man who has been cut into pieces and burnt in fire but does not raise any voice against it, is sincere in the love (of God). Shaiḫ Saif-u'd-dīn Bakhurzī says that a man who gets continuous beating but does not forget the vision of his friend (God), is honest in the love (of God).²⁵

Shaiḫ Muʿīn-u'd-dīn favours the view point of Shaiḫ Saif-u'd-dīn in comparison with that of Shaiḫ Shihāb-u'd-dīn. He narrates the talk of *Āthār-i-Auliya* in connection with love (of God), in which Rābiʿa' Baṣarī, Khawājah Ḥasan Baṣarī, Mālik Dīnār and Khawājah Shafīq Balakḥī took part.

Khawajah Hasan Baṣarī said that a man is sincere in the friendship of God if he endures the calamities and hardship patiently.

Rābia' at once remarked, 'Oh Khawājah, this statement of yours begets the sense of pride.'

Mālik Dinār said that a man is sincere in the friendship of God if he submits to God at times when pains and calamities are inflicted by Him and resigns himself to His Will.

Rābia' again said that there should be something better than this. Khawajah Shafīq said that a man is sincere in the friendship of God, if he does not protest if even he has been reduced to particles of dust.

But Rābia' could not be satisfied even with this answer. She herself then said that a lover who does not forget the vision of his beloved (God) even in the midst of pains and sufferings, is true in the love (of God).²⁶

The heart of the lover (of God), says Shaiḥ Mu'in-u'd-dīn, is the burning place of love. Whatever comes into it is burnt by it, because there is no fire more powerful than the fire of love ('*Ishq*'). He narrates a story that there was a man in Baghdād. He was whipped for a thousand times. When the relative of that man inquired about his condition, he replied that he did not feel any pain because his beloved was before his sight.²⁷

Imām-al-Ghazzālī says that once the hands and feet of an imposter were cut down, but he was laughing all the time. When the reason for his laughter was demanded, he said that his beloved was before him and due to the vision of his beloved he did not feel any pain.²⁸

After the discussion of 'love of God' the characteristics of a mystic have been presented.

Mystic, says Shaiḥ Mu'in-u'd-dīn, is one who knows the whole universe, is competent enough to solve the problems on the intellectual basis, is able to answer the minutes of love and is aware of the facts of Divine secrets and light.²⁹ Thousands of Divine lights dawn upon him from the invisible world every day.³⁰ He always burns in the fire of love ('*Ishq*') and remains bewildered in the creation of God. He, in every state and condition, remembers God.³¹ He always remains in a cheerful mood. When he smiles, it is because he observes the favourites of God in '*Ālam-i-Malakūt*'. The actions of those favourites bring smile to him.³² He always seeks from God and receives his answers from Him.³³ He purifies his heart from every thing other than God, and becomes one as his friend (God) is One.³⁴ He purifies his heart from human infirmities and mundane desires. He adopts the virtues of God and renounces every thing other than Him.³⁵

There are different stages of mysticism. There is one stage in which the mystic traverses the distance which is between the 'Arsh (High throne) and the curtain of Glory (حجاب عظمی) and from there he reaches the Divine secret (حجاب کبری) only in one step but in another step he returns back to his own position; and this is the lowest grade of mysticism. The highest grade of mysticism is only known to God.³⁶ There is another stage in which a mystic sees both the worlds in between his fingers. When Bāyazīd was asked how far he had traversed the mystical path, he answered that he saw both the worlds between his two fingers.³⁷

It has been further stated that lowest grade in mysticism is to adorn oneself with the attributes of God. The highest grade is that a mystic should acquaint himself with the light of his heart, i.e. if any one comes to him with some questions, he should convince him with miraculous power.³⁸

Here we find an apparent contradiction in the statements of Shaiikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn. At one place he says that the highest grade of mysticism is only known to God and at another place he describes what he considers the highest grade of mysticism.

Again the statement that a mystic sees both the worlds, the curtain of Glory, the 'Arsh, the Divine secret, etc., only in one step does not show mysticism in a favourable light as it gives a supernatural touch to it.

Tawakkul for a mystic, says Shaiikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, is the reliance upon God only. *Mutawakkil*, in the real sense, is one who neither complains against nor says anything about the creatures who inflict injury on him.³⁹ There is a state of intoxication for a *mutawakkil* in which he does not feel even if he is cut into pieces or a fatal injury is inflicted on him; this is the *tawakkul* of a mystic in the true sense.⁴⁰

A mystic, says Khawājah Ḥasan Baṣarī, is one who turns his heart away from the world and sacrifices every thing in the way of God. Sincerity in love (of God) is the chief characteristic of a mystic.⁴¹

Mystic, says Khawājah Junaid, is one who turns his heart away from three things: (i) Knowledge; (ii) Practice; and (iii) Solitude. A *mutawakkil* who does not abstain from these three things, is not persistent in *tawakkul*.⁴²

The authenticity of this statement is a matter of doubt. If the things such as knowledge and practice should be avoided, what else will there be for a *mutawakkil*? It is quite obvious that both knowledge and practice are unavoidable for gnosis and love of God.

A man, says Shaiikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, can not be a mystic unless

he takes death as his friend at times of ease, loves the remembrance of God, becomes restless at the time of coming of his friend and enjoys the anticipation of that particular moment when his sight will be fixed on his Lord.⁴³

Further on, Shai'kh Mu'in-u'd-dīn says that mystics are like the sun who shine over the universe and the entire universe is illuminated by them.⁴⁴

Again he says that a true lover of God should not see anything other than God. He narrates the story of Dā'ūd Ṭai. Once Dā'ūd Ṭai came out of his room closing his eyes. When the reason for it was asked, he replied that for the last forty five years he had kept his eyes closed so that he may not see anything except God as it would be against love that the friendship of God should be claimed and things other than God be observed.⁴⁵ Several anecdotes of this nature have been quoted in this connection.

Now if the above statement is strictly followed it means that every lover of God should voluntarily forego the use of his eyesight and we cannot expect such statement from the Shai'kh.

Again a saying of Shai'kh Uthmān Hāroonī has been narrated by Shai'kh Mu'in-u'd-dīn.

It has been said that after descending from heaven to earth, Ādam conjugated with his wife, Eve. Gabriel, the angel came and asked Ādam to take a bath. Ādam attained great pleasure from the bath. He inquired from Gabriel, whether that action has any reward.

Gabriel replied, "Oh Ādam, instead of every hair which you have on your body, you will attain the reward equal to that of one year prayer and for every drop of water that you have used, God will create an angel who will pray upto the day of judgment and the rewards of their prayers will go to you".

"This reward", said Gabriel, "is not confined to you alone but it will be extended to every believer from amongst your descendants who takes a lawful bath".

After relating this saying Shai'kh Mu'in-u'd-dīn says that if a man takes the bath after unlawful intercourse, God will add the sins of one year to the sins of that man for every hair on his body, and for each drop of water that he has utilised, a devil will be created and the sins of the devils committed upto the day of judgment will be added to the sins of that man.⁴⁶

The above mentioned statement is revolting to our moral and rational sense. No ethical doctrine can justify the fact that a man should be punished for the sins committed by others; and therefore,

saints like Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn and Shaikh Uthmān Hāroonī cannot utter such absurdities.

Special emphasis has been laid on good company. Company of the virtuous people, says Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, is better than good actions and the company of the bad people is worst than bad actions. A long story of the king of 'Iraq has been narrated. It has been shown that he embraced *Islām* due to the company of the virtuous muslims.⁴⁷

Death has been stated as the connecting link between the creature and God. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn says that world has no value without death. According to the Prophet death bridges the gulf existing between the lover (of God) and the beloved (God).⁴⁸

Four things, in the opinion of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, are the gems of self :

- (i) A mark of contentment in poverty;
- (ii) Giving food to a hungry man;
- (iii) Expression of cheerfulness in the midst of sorrow;
- (iv) Extending the hands of friendship towards the enemy.⁴⁹

An impossible statement has been stated in *Majlis* No. II. It has been said, "Once I (Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn) was at Bokhāra among the scholars who were externalists. I heard them saying, 'Once the Prophet saw a man saying his prayer and not bowing and prostrating himself as in the proper Islāmic prayer. The Prophet stood there and when the man had finished his prayer, the Prophet asked, 'How many years is it since you have been praying like this'? 'Prophet of *Allāh*', he replied, 'It is about forty years since I have been praying like this.' The Prophet's eyes were filled with tears. 'You have not offered proper prayers during these forty years. Had you died (during this period) you would not have died on traditions'.⁵⁰"

Now it is sure that Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn could never have made such a false statement and Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn could never have recorded such an impossibility. It is clear to every scholar of Muslim history that traditions of the Islāmic prayer were not forty years old at the time of the Prophet's death.

SECTION 3

Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn

It is alleged that "*The Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn*" is the collection of the conversations of Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī compiled by Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan.

It is clear as crystal that this book is a fabrication; because if Shaiḫ Farīd-u'd-dīn had written a book it was impossible that Shaiḫ Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya should be ignorant of it.

The statement of Shaiḫ Naṣīr-u'd-dīn which has already been quoted previously clearly indicates that this book did not exist in the time of Shaiḫ Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. An examination of the character of the book leads us to the same conclusion.⁵¹

Varieties of topics such as 'Love of God', 'Characteristics of a *durveish*', '*Tarīqat*', 'Miracles' and the 'Renunciation of the world' have been discussed in this book.

A man, says Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn, is not true in the love of God if he laments at the time of calamities; because in a true friendship the friend (creature) should surrender his will before the will of his friend (God).⁵²

A man is a *durveish* if he observes the following four things :

- (i) Eats less ; (iii) Talks less;
- (ii) Sleeps less ; (iv) Mixes with people less.⁵³

A man attains the perfection of his self with the practice of the above mentioned four things.⁵⁴

A *durveish* who puts on new clothes for show, takes sweet dishes for his sensual pleasure and adopts the company of rich men is not a *durveish* in the true sense.⁵⁵

A *durveish* should not disclose the secrets of his friend (God). There are some *durveishes* who disclose the secrets in their ecstatic mood. Such *durveishes* are not perfect in mysticism.⁵⁶

Shaiḫ Quṭb-u'd-dīn narrates on the authority of Shaiḫ Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī that there was a *durveish*. He absorbed himself in prayer for one hundred and forty years. After that a secret of God was revealed to him. The *durveish*, due to his ignorance (of the secrets of mysticism) disclosed the secret. From the next day all the boons which were awarded to him were taken away from him.⁵⁷ Manṣūr-al-Ḥallāj

disclosed the secrets of God because he was imperfect in mysticism.⁵⁸

A man is a *durveish* if he remains in ecstatic mood and in that mood he attains thousands of states from the world of secrets every moment and if in that mood eighteen thousand worlds are presented to him, he does not notice them. At this stage, says a saint, he will not feel even if he is cut into pieces.⁵⁹

A man, says Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, can not attain nearness to God, unless he cuts off his relation from things other than God, purifies himself from mundane desires and passes a solitary life. He relates the stories of Khwājah Bāyazīd and the Prophet Jesus.

Khwājah Bāyazīd after mortification for seventy years stepped into the place of nearness to God. He was ordered to return back due to his mundane affairs. When the Khwājah examined himself, he found the old carpet of animal hyde and broken cup near him. The Khwājah at once threw out those things and then he was admitted to place of nearness to God.⁶⁰ The story of Prophet Jesus has also been related. We are told that Prophet Jesus could not rise higher than the fourth heaven because he had taken three earthly things—a wooden bowl, a needle and his patched frock with him. When he realised his mistake of depending upon the things other than God, it was too late and he was asked to stay where he was.⁶¹

Now if these stories should be considered as true, then it means that Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn was preaching an ascetic doctrine which goes against the fact which we have established in the main text.

Again the stories seem to be the tales of fairy land because they lack rationality and reality.

For the attainment of *Tarīqat*, says Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, a man should not indulge himself in the mundane desires, should absorb himself in the remembrance of God, should not hoard wealth and should adopt a solitary life.⁶²

Miracle, in the opinion of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, is that which can not be grasped with the aid of intellect.⁶³ Unless a *durveish* traverses all the stages of mysticism, he should not show his miraculous power; because the attainment of miraculous power is a very premature stage in mysticism. A *durveish* who indulges himself in showing his miracles, will not be able to traverse the rest of the stages of mysticism.⁶⁴ The greatest hindrance for a mystic in the way of mysticism is the presence of mundane desires and aspirations; therefore, a mystic (*sālik*) should renounce the worldly things.⁶⁵

Fear, says Quṭb-u'd-dīn, is the whip of God for the disobedient creatures.⁶⁶

SECTION 4

Rāhat-u'l-Qulūb

It is alleged that the book 'Rāhat u'l-Qulūb' is the collection of the conversations of Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar compiled by Shaiikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya.

The fabricated nature of the book is borne out by the fact that we do not find any account of this book in *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ūd*, the historic record of the sayings of Shaiikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. An examination of the character of the book leads us to the same conclusion.⁶⁷

Varieties of topics such as 'Prayer', 'Fast', 'Pilgrimage to Ka'abah', 'Characteristics of a *durveish*', 'Renunciation of the world', 'Miracles', 'Different sects', etc., have been discussed in this book.

A major portion of the book has been devoted to the discussion of prayer, fasting, *aurād*, *waḥaif*, etc. It reflects the general inclination of the masses towards the *Shar'at* and also the attitude of Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn towards religion.

Durveishes have been assigned an important place in the society. Four things, says Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, are essential for a *durveish*:

- (i) A *durveish* should make himself blind, so that he may not find fault with the muslims.
- (ii) He should make himself deaf so that he may not hear anything which ought not to be heard.
- (iii) He should make himself dumb so that he may not utter anything which ought not to be uttered.
- (iv) He should make himself lame so that he may not visit any prohibited place.

A *durveish* who does not practise the above mentioned four things is a liar and has nothing to do with love of God.⁶⁸ The story of Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardy has also been narrated in this connection.

Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn kept his eyes closed for forty years. When the reason for it was demanded, the Shaiikh said, "I have closed my eyes so that I may not see the blemishes of the muslims; and if by chance I see anything, I keep it secret".⁶⁹

Now the above mentioned four conditions are, no doubt, essential for the *durveishes*. But these conditions should not be interpreted in

the literal sense. When it has been said that a *durveish* should make himself blind so that he may not find fault with the muslims, it means that as a blind man does not see others; in the same way a *durveish* should not see the faults of others. It never means that a *durveish* should actually close his eyes or lose his eyesight. The remaining three conditions have to be interpreted in the same way. But the story of Shihāb-u'd-dīn which has been quoted in the book suggests that the condition has been interpreted in a literal sense which is absurd; and such absurd things could never be attributed to Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn.

In the opinion of Shaiikh 'Abdullāh Suhail Ṭushṭarī there is no greater veil between man and God than the mundane world. Because in so far as a man absorbs himself in the world, he is removed farther and farther away from God. The Prophet says that the love of the world is the root of all the evils.⁷⁰ So Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn says that a *durveish* who has attachment with the mundane world, seeks honour and position, and is entangled in the sensual pleasures, is not a *durveish* in the true sense; because, renunciation of the world is 'an indispensable condition for a *durveish*.⁷¹

Mixing with the worldly people and visiting the kings and nobles, according to Shaiikh Junaid, are unlawful for a *durveish*. Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn narrates the story of Khawājah Suhail 'Abdullā Ṭushṭarī.

The king of 'Iraq was suffering from pain for three years. On the request of the king Khawājah Suhail went to his palace, touched him with his hand and God cured him. The Khawājah, for the expiation of this sin, cut off his relations with the people for seven years and said that the company of the wealthy people for a *durveish*, in the opinion of Shaiikhs, serves as deadly poison.⁷²

Khawājah Shafique Balakhī in *Dalīl-u's-Sani* writes that one who does not keep himself away from the masses, is away from God because mixing with the masses for the mystic (*sālik*) serves as a veil between him and God.⁷³

Khawājah Bāyazīd in his '*Sulūk*' writes that a mystic (*Sālik*) should not come out of his house except for his necessities. He should not join the company of the sinners and should not talk unnecessarily.⁷⁴

Khawājah Yūsuf Chishtī writes in '*Sarāḥ-u'l-Āthār*' that nothing is more harmful for a *durveish*, in the opinion of Khawājah Dhul-Noon Miṣrī, than the company of the rich; and nothing is more useful for him than solitude.⁷⁵

Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn condemns the love of the world. Love of the world, in his opinion, is the root of all the evils and the renunciation of the world is the highest form of worship.⁷⁶

Shamsul 'Arif says that a man who aspires to nearness to God should keep himself away from the world and should not mix with the worldly people.⁷⁷

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn says that Khwājah Bāyazīd, due to his old carpet and broken cup could not get access to the place of God; then how can a man who is absorbed in the world attain the nearness to God?⁷⁸

He further says that according to the view point of a saint a man who renounces the world should be of such a nature that if the entire world should be offered to him, he should not accept it, and if he should be thrown in hell for its rejection, he should reject it.⁷⁹

The goal of a human being, in the opinion of Shaiḥ Farīd-u'd-dīn, is the knowledge of God and knowledge of God is possible only through love ('*Ishq*'). He says that a man can not get relish in his prayer if he does not cognise God because such a man is ignorant of the end of his prayers.⁸⁰

Qur'ān says, "وما خلقت الجن والانس الا ليعبدون" The verse is ordinarily understood to mean, as in '*Tafsīr* Imām Zāhid', "and I have not created men and Jinn except for worship". But the mystics interpret the word 'worship' as the cognizance of God; because elegance in prayer, in their opinion, is not possible without the cognizance of God.

As we find in the worldly love that unless a man knows and reaches his beloved, there is no formation of the bond of love between them and unless he becomes familiar with the persons who are familiar with his beloved, he can not be familiar with his beloved. The same thing happens in *Ṭarīqat* and *Ḥaqīqat*. Unless a man cognises God and is attached to the protected friends of God, he can not attain elegance in prayer.⁸¹

Mystics when they are in their ecstatic mood do not feel even if they receive hundred strokes of sword and not a single hair of their body is cut by these strokes; and when they absorb themselves in the intoxication of the remembrance of God, they do not notice even if a hundred thousand angels pass through from one of their ears to another.⁸²

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn says that the main thing in *Ṭarīqat* is patience. A man should willingly bear the troubles inflicted upon him.⁸³ He further says that when a man surrenders his will before God and overpowers the lower soul, God fulfils all his wishes.⁸⁴ Numerous anecdotes have been cited in this connection.⁸⁵

The angel of death can not overtake the soul of the friend of God; when God calls his friend, he himself submits his soul to the angel, says Shaikh Farīd. He quotes several stories in this connection.⁸⁶

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn has assigned an important place to intellect. He says that God has two kinds of love for His creatures, one is external and the other is internal. The external love of God for His creatures is the sending of the prophets, and the internal love is the award of the intellect to the creatures. Importance of knowledge is due to intellect. Because if a man has knowledge, but no intellect, his knowledge will be of no use. Knowledge and intellect, in the opinion of the Prophet, are interrelated. One can not go without the other. When it was asked from Imām Abū Ḥanīfah how he deduced a large number of points from the verses of the *Qur'ān* and the Traditions, he replied that he used his intellect. Had there been no intellect, no deduction from *Sharḥ* would have been possible.⁸⁷ These statements indicate that the intellect is the essential factor in knowledge; because with the absence of intellect, nothing is possible regarding the gnosis of God.⁸⁸

Knowledge, in the opinion of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, is the best of all the prayers in the eyes of God. But one is ignorant of the secret of knowledge. A learned man, in the practical sense, is one who keeps his heart away from both the worlds.

Knowledge, in the opinion of Shaikh Jalāl-u'd-dīn is a lamp enclosed in glass. Such regions as the higher world (*ʿĀlam-i-ʿulwī*), the lower world (*ʿĀlam-i-Siflī*) and the angelic world (*ʿĀlam-i-Malakūt*) are lighted through it. Hence, a man of knowledge has nothing to do with the darkness of ignorance. But most learned men are careless about knowledge. They are proud and have taken the world as their end; they regard *Sharḥ* as a burden and pay frequent visit to the kings and the nobles.⁸⁹

A man is firm in gnosis and love (*ʿIshq*), says Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, if he remembers nothing except God.⁹⁰

A man, in the opinion of Khwājah Yahyā Maʿād, can not attain the divine knowledge unless he keeps himself away from the following four things :

- (i) Love of the world
- (ii) The worry about what he will take tomorrow
- (iii) Jealousy towards the muslim
- (iv) Friendship with honour and position

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn says that devotion presupposes three things:

- (i) To understand the right position of the world and to keep away from it
- (ii) To serve God and maintain discipline
- (iii) To be friendly and affectionate to human beings but not

to seek anything from them⁹¹

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn believes in the existence of Khwājah Khiḍr. Khwājah Khiḍr, in his opinion, visits the virtuous people.⁹²

He also believes in the power of miracles (*karāmat*) and inspiration (*Kashf*). But he says that it is not good to show the miraculous power. According to Shaikh Sa'īd-u'd-dīn Hamuiya, a man who shows his miraculous power violates the Divine command.⁹³

Thus, the analysis of the contents of 'The *Rūhat-u'l-Qulūb*' indicates that it contains matter taken from the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. The author, however, does not borrow directly from the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* but indirectly through the other fabricated *malfūzāt*. It also refers to the following fabricated works:

- (i) The *Sharāḥ-u'l-Asrār* of Khwājah Yūsuf Chishtī
- (ii) The *Qūwat-u'l-Qulūb* of Khwājah 'Uthmān Hāroonī
- (iii) The *Aurād* of Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn Chishtī
- (iv) The *Aurād* of Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī

These works did not exist at the time of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya.

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3. Macdonald, D.B., *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional theory*, p. 82
4. Muḥaffar-u'd-dīn Nadvi, Syed, *Muslim Thought and its Source*, p. 20
5. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 81
6. Ibid., 82
7. For the detailed study of Mu'tazilites and Ash'arites : CF
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آسمان راحق بود گر خون بیارد بر زمین بر زوال ملک مستعصم امیر المومنین
 اے محمد گر قیامت سر برون آری ز خاک سر برون آرو قیامت در میان خلق بین

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38. Ibid., p. 355

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گرومی که مفتی آن کشور اند اذ اصحاب این شهر فتویٰ برند
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43. *Ibid.*, p. 45
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48. *Ibid.*, p. 50
49. *Ibid.*, p. 81
50. D. Datta & Chatterjee, *An Introduction to Indian Philosophy*, pp. 18F
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58. Yūsuf Ḥusain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, p. 2
59. *Ibid.*, p. 2
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 10 & 14
61. کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را هر زمان از غیب جانے دیگر است
62. خواهم که همیشه در هوائے توزیم خاکے شوم و بریر پائے توزیم
مقصود من بنده زکونین توفی ازیر تومیرم از برای توزیم
63. من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه
64. Yūsuf Ḥusain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, pp. 7F
65. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, *Shaiḫ, Makrūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, pp. 6 & 44
66. The grounds on which these sources are considered to be fabricated are referred to in the appendix.

CHAPTER I

Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishti

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2. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 26
3. Khwājāh 'Uthmān Hārūnī was an outstanding personality of his age. He was well-up in *Sharī'at*, *Tarīqat* and *Ḥaqīqat*. He was the disciple of Khwājāh Hāji Sharif. (Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 44). He surrendered himself at the feet of his director and for seventy years he was absorbed in mortification and penitence. His director granted him his *Khilāfat-Namāh*. He had four renowned *Khalīfās*; Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-din Chishtī, Shaikh Sa'dī, Khwājāh Moḥammad Turk and Khwājāh Najm-u'd-din Sughrā. He died in 1920-21 A.D. at the age of ninety one. (Hāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar. *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā*, p. 256)
4. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 45 F
5. Jail is a beautiful place situated under the mountain in Baghdād. It has been said that the boat of Noha had been come to stay here. (Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 6)
6. Shaikh Diyā-u'd-din was the director of Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-din Suhrwardī, the founder of *Suhrwardī* order.
7. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, pp. 6 F
8. Hāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā*, p. 256
9. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 13
10. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 45
11. Ibid., p. 47
12. Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq in *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār* has emphasized the religious importance of Ajmer. (*Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 28).
13. Medieval India Quarterly (Vol. 1, October 1950, No. 2), pp. 1-42
14. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 27
15. Ibid., p. 27

15. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 27
16. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 46
17. Ibid., p. 46
18. Ibid., p. 46
19. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 27
20. *Ma'rifat* is the knowledge of God acquired through spiritual development, inner purification and illumination.
(B.A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 13)
21. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 28
22. Ibid., p. 26
23. Ibid., p. 27

CHAPTER II

Shaiḥh Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī

1. Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā*, p. 276
2. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 48
3. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 30
4. *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* deals with the vigils of Shaiḥh Quṭb-u'd-dīn. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 49)
5. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 28
6. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 62
7. Numerous stories have been quoted by the author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* in connection with the poverty of Shaiḥh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 49-55).
8. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith, Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 29
9. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 54F
10. This point has been discussed in 'Appendix'.
11. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 29
12. Ibid., p. 29
13. «کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را مر زمان از غیب جانے دیگرست»
('Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 29)
14. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiḥh, Aḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār, p. 29
15. Ibid., p. 29
16. Ibid., p. 29

CHAPTER III

Shaikh Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā

1. Fort Court Croar is a place in Multan, (Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 103)
2. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 103
3. Ibid., pp. 105F
Shaikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī (1145-1234 A.D.) was an eminent saint of the *Suhrwardī* order. His best known work is the *ʿAwārif-u'l-Maʿārif*. (see also, *Nafahat-u'l-Uns*, pp. 307 F)
4. Amīr Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 43
5. Ibid., p. 43
6. Ibid., p. 138
7. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 120
 (A story cited in this book makes the point clear)
8. Ibid., p. 120
9. This point will be discussed at full length in connection with Bābā Farīd and Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya.
10. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 121
11. Amīr Hasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 5
12. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 114
13. Ibid., pp. 112 F
14. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 135-141
15. This point will be discussed fully in connection with Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya.
16. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 128
17. Ibid., p. 123
18. There is a custom among certain people that beautiful women make an artificial mole on their face which is considered to be a protection against the evil eye of the malicious.
19. Maulānā Faḍl-ullāh known as Durveish Jamālī, *Siyar-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 15
20. The biographies of the Chishtī saints in the coming chapters will make this point clear.

CHAPTER IV

Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣafī

1. Sayyed-u'd-dīn Zaid was one of «عشرة مبشرين» the ten companions of prophet Moḥammad about whom the prophet said definitely that they will go to paradise on account of their virtuous deeds.
2. Khalīfah: A man who has been granted Khilāfat-Nāmah (a letter of authority empowering him to act as one's representative in spiritual matters) by his director is named as Khalīfah. In mystic terminology it generally signifies the recognition by the spiritual leader of the fact that the disciple has completed the mystic journey and has reached such a high state of development that he can be authorised to guide others on the way.
3. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 33
4. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 156F
5. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 34
6. Ibid., p. 34
7. Ibid., p. 34
8. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, Siyar-u'l-Auliya, pp. 162F
9. 'Alī Hujwerī, Shaikh, Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb, p. 270
(English translation by R. A. Nicholson)
10. Ibid., p. 270
11. Fanā (فناء) literally means annihilation. In mystic terminology it means the stage at which the mystic turns his face away from everything and forgets everything other than Allāh. The obliviousness leads in certain cases to the denial of every thing other than Allāh. (B.A. Fārūqī, Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd, p. 102)
12. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 31
13. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī, p. 232
14. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, pp. 37F
15. Ibid., p. 30
16. Qur'ān, III, 133
17. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār, p. 33
18. Ibid., p. 30
19. Ibid., p. 33
20. Ibid., p. 30

21. *Qur'ān*, VII, 172
22. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 33
23. Ibid., p. 33
Qur'ān, II, 115
24. *Qur'ān*, XXI, 23
25. Ibid., VII, 54
26. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 33
27. *Qur'ān*, II, 286
28. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 34
29. Ibid., p. 34
30. Ibid., p. 33
31. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, pp. 279F
32. *Qur'ān*, VI, 52
33. Ibid., XIII, 22
34. Ibid., XXX, 38
35. Ibid., XXX, 39
36. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, pp. 280F
37. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, pp. 34F
38. Ibid., p. 34
39. *Qur'ān*, XCIX, 7 & 8
40. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 209

CHAPTER V

Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī

1. *Kharq* (garment) or *muraqqā'a*:—Abū 'Alī Siyah was asked: "Who is permitted to invest novices with the *muraqqā'a*"? He replied, "That one who oversees the whole kingdom of God so that nothing happens in the world without his knowledge". ('Alī Hujwerī, *Shaiḵh*, *Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*. English translation by R. A. Nicholson, p. 57; for detail see, Ibid., p. 417).
2. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 40
3. Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Asfiyā*, pp. 309F
4. *Shaiḵh* 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi (1551-1614 A.D.) was an eminent scholar and traditionist of the Mughal period. For more than half a century his seminary at Delhi was the centre of religious learning in India. He popularised the study of the

- traditions of the Prophet in Northern India. He is the author of more than one hundred big and small works. For his life and works see; K.A. Niẓāmī : *Ḥayāt-i-Shaikh 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq*, published by the Nadwat-u'l-Muḥannifīn, Delhi, 1953.
5. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 41
 6. The author of *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād* writes, "One day *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya demanded the collection of Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaūrī. The *Shaikh* went through the mystical contributions of Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn. After the study, the *Shaikh* turned and said, "Whatever you have read, it is in these pages; and whatever you have not read, it is also there; and whatever I have read, these pages contain it and whatever I have not read, it is also in these pages. (Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 241)
 7. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaikh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 45
 8. Ibid., p. 42
 9. Ibid., p. 45
 10. Ibid., p. 45
 11. Ibid., p. 45
 12. Muẓaffar-u'd-dīn-Nadvī, Syed, *Muslim Thought and its source*, p. 38
 13. Ibid., p. 59
 14. Station (*maqām*) denotes anyone's standing, in the way of God, and his fulfilment of the obligations appertaining to that "Station" and his keeping it until he comprehends its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. ('Alī Hujwerī, *Shaikh, Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*. English translation by R. A. Nicholson, p. 181)
 15. 'Miracle' (*Karūmat*):—A miracle is a token to a saint's veracity. It is an extraordinary act, performed while he is still subject to the obligations of religion; and whoever is able, through knowledge given him by God, to distinguish by the method of deduction what is true from what is false, he too is a saint. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, pp. 218F)
 16. & 17. Intoxication and sobriety:—Intoxication and rapture are terms used by spiritualists to denote the rapture of love for God, while the term 'sobriety' expresses the attainment of that which is desired. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, pp. 184F)
 18. & 19. The subsistence and annihilation of a state (*Ḥāl*) denotes, for example, that when ignorance is annihilated knowledge is necessarily subsistent, and that when sin is annihilated piety is

subsistent, and that when a man acquires knowledge of his piety his forgetfulness (*ghaflat*) is annihilated by remembrance of God. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 242).

20. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 46
 21. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah-Majmo'i Ishqiyah*, p. 42
 22. Fear and desire or longing are the two pillars of faith. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 128)
 23. *Dhawq* resembles *shurb*, but *shurb* is used solely in reference to pleasures, where as *dhawq* is applied to pleasure and pain alike, (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 392)
 24. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyah*, p. 49
 25. & 26 The 'stations' are connected with the realization of servanthip (*'ubūdiyyat*), while ecstasy (*mashrab*) leads to the corroboration of Lordship (*ṭubūbiyyat*), *Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*. English translation by R.A. Nicholson, p. 157).
 27. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyah*, p. 26
 28. Ibid., p. 36
 29. Ibid., p. 44
 30. Ibid., p. 43
 31. Ibid., p. 44
 32. Ibid., p. 44
 33. Ibid., p. 43
- Qur'ān*, cxii 'The Unity'
34. Union: (*Jam'a*) can be referred only to His (God's) substance and attributes, for union is equality in the fundamental matter, and no two things are equal in respect of eternity except His substance and His attributes, which when they are separated by expository analysis, are not united. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 253).
 35. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith, Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh, Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 44
 36. Gabriel told the Apostle that God has said, "My servant continually seeks access to Me by means of works of supererogation until I love him; and when I love him, I am his ear and his eye and his hand and his heart and his tongue: through Me he hears and sees and speaks and grasps", i.e. in remembering Me he is enraptured by the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Me, and his own 'acquisition' (*kashb*) is annihilated so as to have no part in his remembrance, and My remembrance overpowers his remembrance and the relationship of humanity (*adamiyyat*) is entirely removed from his remembrance:

- then My remembrance is his remembrance. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 254). This is the stage of *Waṣūl*.
37. *Tafriq* is derived from the word, *Farq* (فرق). *Farq* literally means difference; in mystic terminology it signifies the state of mind in which the mystic feels the sense of being other than God and separate from Him. (B.A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 92).
38. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḥ*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 42
39. Ibid., p. 42
40. Ibid., p. 41
Qur'an, vi : 75,76,77,78,79,80
41. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn-Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyaḥ*, p. 4
42. Ibid., p. 9
43. Ibid., p. 4
44. Ibid., pp. 21F
45. Ibid., p. 22
46. Ibid., p. 21
Qur'an, III, 185
47. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyaḥ*, p. 22
(The same thing about 'death' has been said by *Shaiḥ* Quṭb-u'd-dīn. For detail see, chapter II, *Shaiḥ* Quṭb-u'd-dīn).
48. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyaḥ*, p. 22
49. Ibid., p. 25
50. Ibid., p. 23
51. The knowledge of the law (*Sharī'at*) has three pillars; (i) *Qur'ān* (ii) The *Sunna* (iii) The consensus (*Ijma'*) of the Moslem community. (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 14)
52. Fasting is really abstinence, and this includes the whole method of Ṣūfism (*Ṭarīqat*). (*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 321)
53. The knowledge of the Truth (*Ḥaqīqat*) has three pillars :
(i) Knowledge of the Essence and Unity of God
(ii) Knowledge of the Attributes of God
(iii) Knowledge of the Actions and Wisdom of God
(*Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb*, English translation, p. 14)
54. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i Ishqiyaḥ*, p. 45
55. Ibid., pp. 21 F
56. Like Ibn-u'l-'Arabi and 'Abdul Karīm Jili, Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī gives us the nature of 'The Perfect man' (*Insān-u'l-Kāmil*). He, unquestionably says that Prophet Moḥammad is the perfect

man. God revealed His own power and perfection in the personality of the Prophet. Universe, being a less perfect manifestation of God, is only a partial expression of the reality embodied in the Prophet. So the Prophet is the whole while universe is a part included in this whole. No one has such close access to the essence of God as the Prophet. Hence for the attainment of God, it is but essential to be one with the Prophet; and for this purpose obedience to the Prophet, in words (قولا), in actions (فعلا), and in every state of the self (حالا), is indispensable. Obedience in words signifies the *Qur'ān*; obedience in action signifies the prayer; and obedience in state signifies, 'Adorn yourself with the divine qualities'. (Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i-Ishqiyah*, pp. 11 F)

57. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i-Ishqiyah*, p. 29
58. Ibid., p. 60
59. Ibid., p. 6
60. Ibid., p. 6
61. *Qur'ān* III, 74
62. CREATION:—Creation means bringing something into being out of complete nothing. This conception, however, is a stumbling block for the speculative consciousness, because such coming into being is absolutely inconceivable. The speculative consciousness, therefore, must stop in its logical regress at some being or *Wujūd*, from which it could, by modification, deduce the actual world order. It can not conceive that a substance can come into being ab novo. About accidents or qualities of the substance it does not seem to be so sceptical,—new qualities do come into being as a matter of fact. But in its purity—in its rigour, the speculative consciousness does yearn to deduce even qualities from the primordial essence of the substance. (CF. Scientific Materialism. Cited in B.A. Fārūqī, *Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 55).
63. Al-Ghazzālī too bases his argument for the freedom of the will on his conception of the world as consisting of three realities, viz, the physical ('*Ālam-u'l-Mulk*), the mental ('*Ālam-u'l-Jabrūt*), and the spiritual ('*Ālam-u'l-Malakūt*). 'Umr-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 151)
64. « حديث قدسي » كثر عني فاحببت ان اعرف فخلق الخلق » is a tradition from
65. Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, *Risālah Majmo'i-Ishqiyah*, p. 6
66. Ibid., pp. 23F

CHAPTER VI

Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar

1. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 91
2. Ibid., pp. 67F
3. Ibid., pp. 72F
4. Ibid., pp. 65F
5. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 51,45F
6. K. A. Niẓāmī, *The life and Times of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn*, p. 105
7. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 145
8. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 73
(The author of the book has narrated in detail the incident of Sirhanga, a resident of Hansi in this connection).
- 9 Ibid., p. 63
10. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 149,238,188F
11. This point has been discussed in appendix.
12. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 89
13. Ibid., pp. 64,401
14. Ibid., p. 123
Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 224
'از هر تو میم و برای تویم'
15. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 81
16. Ibid., p. 76
17. Ibid., p. 81
18. Ibid., pp. 117F
19. Ibid., p. 123
20. DARD:-Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya explains, "By 'dard' the saint meant an eye full of tears and a heart full of emotions".
(Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 132).
21. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 76
- 22, 23 & 24. Ibid., p. 75F
'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 53
25. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 226
- 26, 27, 28 & 29. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 76F
- 30, 31. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 103

CHAPTER VII

Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya

1. For forty days before his death Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya did not

take his meal. He talked very little in that period. On the last Friday of his life he was in ecstasy. After the Friday's prayer he returned to his residence and began to weep more than ever. Later on, every day he used to be in his ecstatic mood once or twice. After coming to his senses he uttered "Today is Friday and a friend commemorates the promise of his friend". Even in this rapturous state he said his prayers at the proper time. He ordered his personal servant, Iqbāl to distribute all the goods of *Khānqāh* (monastery). Iqbāl distributed all except some food grains which he kept for *Durveishes*. The *Shaikh* became annoyed with him and ordered him to throw open the doors of the store room, so that people might take away all the grain. Then he called his relatives, disciples and servants and addressed them thus, "You will be witness for the fact that I have ordered Iqbāl to distribute everything belonging to the *Khānqāh*. If he keeps anything he will be responsible for it on the day of judgment before God". On Wednesday, in the morning of 18th *Rābī'-u'l-Ākhīr*, 725 A. H. (1325 A. D.) having broken the fetters of this mortal world, he stepped into the world beyond. (Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 152-155).

2. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 94,99

Ḥafīz Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā*, pp. 328F

3. *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya won the title of Niẓām-u'd-dīn, debator (*Baḥḥāth*) and the shatterer of the assembly; (*Maḥfil Shikan*). He qualified himself in principles of jurisprudence; science of jurisprudence and science of tradition. He studied, with Bābā Farīd in Ajodhan six chapters of *Qur'ān*, five chapters of the '*Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif*' and two other books. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*; p. 106)
4. One day he was reading a *naft* (short poems written in praise of the Prophet) in a school at Badaun that a *quwwāl* (musician) Abu Bakr by name, who had visited Multan and Ajodhan, came to his teacher and began to narrate some interesting experiences of his journey in the Punjab. Abu Bakr started with an account of the *Khānqāh* of *Shaikh* Bahā-u'd-dīn Zakariyyā and said that even the slave girls of the *Shaikh* were all time busy in religious meditation and while grinding corn, they recited the names of *Allāh*. These stories, however, did not touch *Shaikh* Niẓām-u'd-dīn's heart, but when the *quawwāl* praised the piety of *Shaikh* Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar his soul was moved. He developed sudden and intense love for *Shaikh* Farīd and began to repeat his name after each prayer.

He never went to bed unless he had thought of him. His friends came to know of this and whenever an occasion arose, they asked him to swear by Shaikh Farīd. After four years he started for Delhi for the completion of his study. An old man, 'Awād by name, a staunch believer in the spiritual greatness of Shaikh Farīd, accompanied him. Whenever he saw the slightest danger of being molested by robbers or by wild beasts, he cried out impatiently, "Oh *Pīr* ! Rush up, Oh *Pīr* ! we are proceeding under your protection". Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn did not know who the saint was whom he was imploring. When he inquired from 'Awād, he respectfully mentioned the name of Shaikh Farīd. The great saint of Ajodhan was already 'his vision in the night and his dreaming in the day'. 'Awād's reference to him supplied fuel to the burning emotions of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn. (Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 100; Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 149, cited in K.A. Niẓāmī, *The life and times of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 73).

5. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 101
6. Ibid., p. 106
7. Ibid., p. 107
8. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 42
9. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 131F
10. Ibid., pp. 121F
11. Ibid., p. 116
12. Ibid., p. 113
13. Ibid., pp. 114F
14. Maulāna Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 87
Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazānat-u'l-Aṣfiyā*, p. 331
15. Muḥammad bin Mubarak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 130,132
16. Ibid., pp. 112,116
17. Ibid., p. 117
18. Ibid., (Urdu translation), pp. 114F
19. Ibid., *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 129
20. Ibid., pp. 129F
21. For the Shaikh's explanation for admitting all sorts of people into his discipleship, see *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 346,348, where the author gives a long extract from Dīā-u'd-dīn Baranī's *Ḥasarat Nāmāh*.
22. In addition to the five compulsory (*farā*) prayers-Fajr, Zuhr, 'Aṣr, Maghrib and 'Ishā-there are five recommended (*sunnat*) prayers.

- (1) *Ishrāq*, offered after sunrise
- (2) *Chāst*, offered at forenoon
- (3) *Zawāl*, offered after mid-day
- (4) *Awābīn*, offered at twilight
- (5) *Tahjjud*, offered between mid-night and early dawn
23. The prayers, of usually twenty *raka'ats*, recited at night during the month of *Ramaḍān*.
24. Written by Maulāna Abū Ṭālib Macchi (ob. 996 A. D.); published from Cairo in 2 volumes in 1892 A.D.
25. Written by Imām-al-Ghazzālī (ob. 1111 A.D.); published from Cairo in 1893 A.D.
26. i.e. *Kīmiyā-i-Sa'ādat* (Newal Kishore, Lucknow, 1907 A.D.);
27. Written by Shaiikh Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī (ob. 1234 A.D.); first published in Cairo on the margin of *Iḥyā* of Imām-al-Ghazzālī.
28. Written by Shaiikh 'Alī Ḥujwerī (ob. 1074 A.D.); Persian text (Gulzār-i-Hind Steam Press, Lahore); English translation by R.A. Nicholson (Luzac 1936).
29. *Kitāb-i-Ta'arruf* was written by Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Ibrāhīm Bukhārī (ob. 999 A.D.). It is one of the classics on Islāmic mysticism.
30. Written by Abul Qāsim 'Abd-u'l-Karīm Qushairī (ob. 1072 A.D.) in 1046 A.D. published from Cairo in 1927 A.D.
31. Written by Najm-u'd-dīn Rāḍī in 1223 A.D.
32. 'Ain-u'l-Quḍāt Hamadānī (ob. 1130 A.D.).
33. Abu'l Qāsim B. Muḥammad B. Junaid (ob. 910 A.D.). See *Kashf-al-Mahjūb* (Tr.), pp. 128,130.
34. Bāyazīd Taifur Bisṭāmī (ob. 875 A.D.), See, *Kashf-a'l-Mahjūb* (tr), p. 106
35. *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, pp. 343,347 (R. No. from 22 to 35 have been cited in K.A. Nizāmī, *The life and times of Shaiikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, pp. 75 to 77).
36. K. Nizām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*: Volume, I, Edited by B. DE., pp. 80,83
37. Ibid., pp. 103F
38. Ibid., p. 120
(Incident of Malik Chaggu is important in this connection, pp. 121,122)
39. K. Nizām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*: Volume, I, pp. 125, 127
40. Ibid., pp. 164F
41. Ibid., pp. 154,157

(The discussion of the Sultān and Qāḍī Moghith-u'd-dīn sufficiently throws light in this connection).

42. Ibid., p. 156
43. Ibid., p. 154
44. Ibid., pp. 168,171
45. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 130F
46. Ibid., pp. 132,135
47. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 150F
48. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 45
(Talking about the books of Shaikhs a relative of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya narrated to him that he had been shown in Awadh a book which was said to have been written by him (The Shaikh). Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya said that it was wrong; he had not written any book).
49. *Ilhām* means inspiration; technically it is confined to mystics; it is reception of guidance or inspiration from above. The guidance, thus, received is not absolutely infallible, hence it is not binding on all but only on the recipient of it, provided it is not contrary to any injunction received through the Prophet. (B.A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 6).
50. Amīr Ḥasan 'Ala-i-Sijzī (ob. 1335 A. D.) was a distinguished disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. He was a fast friend of Amīr Khusraw and Dīa-u'd-dīn Baranī. He was a gifted poet. Baranī says that he was called Sa'dī of Hindustan (*Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhi*, p. 360). The most famous work of Amīr Ḥasan is the *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*. A small brochure on 'Ishq' (Love) named *Mukh-u'l-Ma'ānī* is also available in the Muslim University Library, Aligarh. For his life, see Introduction to his Diwān; *Nafahāt-u'l-Uns*, pp. 398,399; *Akḥbār-u'l-Akḥyār*, pp. 100,102, K. A. Niẓāmī, *The life & Times of Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar*, p. 5.
51. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 69
52. *Qur'ān*, XI, 24
53. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 110F
54. Ibid., pp. 75,80,87
55. Ibid., p. 112
56. Ibid., pp. 35,45
57. Ibid., pp. 6 to 8,10,11,21,23,29,45,46,57,87,88,94,102,106,143,151, 158,163,231.
58. Ibid., pp. 20,209,213

59. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 402F
60. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 155,214
Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 406F
61. Ibid., p. 535
62. Ibid., p. 539
63. Ibid., p. 539
64. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 69
65. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 542
66. Ibid., pp. 542,568
- 67, 68 & 69. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 132
70. 'Umar-u'd-din, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 239
71. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 68
72. Ibid., p. 68
73. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 454
74. Ibid., p. 455
75. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 85
76. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 455
77. Ibid., p. 456
78. *Qur'ān*, III, 92
79. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 459
80. Ibid., pp. 455F
81. *Qur'ān*, VII, 172. (Am I not your Lord ? They said: yea, verily).
82. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 460
83. Ibid., pp. 443F
- 84, 85. Ibid., p. 461
86. Ibid., p. 466
87. *Ishqa* is a sort of creeper which grows in gardens. At first it makes strong its root in the ground, then slowly and gradually it climbs to the tree and checks its nourishment and growth so that the tree becomes dry. (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 466)
88. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 61F
89. Ibid., p. 62
90. Ibid., p. 61
91. Ibid., p. 20
92. Ibid., p. 192
- 93 & 94. Ibid., p. 53
95. Ibid., p. 54
96. 'Umar-u'd-din, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 272
97. Ibid., p. 273

98. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 101
Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 551
99. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 54
100. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 550
101. Ibid., p. 486
102. Ibid., p. 487
103. Shāh Shujā' Kirmānī did not sleep at night for forty years. One night he fell asleep and enjoyed the vision of God in his dream. Later on wherever he went, he put his bedding by his side and used to sleep early at night with the hope that he might enjoy the vision again. One night he heard the unseen voice, "Oh Shaikh that vision was the fruit of your keeping awake for forty years". (*Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 488).
104. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 487
105. Ibid., p. 490
106. Macdonald, D.B., *Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence and constitutional theory*, p. 145
107. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, p. 281
108. B.A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 62
109. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 538
110. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 69
111. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 455
112. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 211
113. Ibid., p. 247
114. Ibid., p. 119
115. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 564
116. Ibid., p. 569
117. Ibid., p. 568
118. *Qurb* : *Qurb* literally means nearness. Mystics have taken the term from the Qur'ānic verse, "نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد" "And We are nearer to him than his jugular vein". *Qur'ān*, p. 16
119. *Ma'yyat* (معيت) literally means togetherness. Mystics have taken it from the Qur'ānic verse, "هو معكم اينما كنتم" "And He is with you wheresoever ye may be", *Qur'ān*, LVII, 4
120. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 569
121. Ibid., p. 573

122. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 564
123. Ibid., pp. 569F
124. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 77
125. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 569
126. Ibid., p. 566
127. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, pp. 72F
128. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 565
129. Ibid., p. 554
130. Ibid., p. 567
131. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 49
132. Khalīfah 'Abdul Ḥakīm, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*, p. 56
133. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 561F
134. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 4
135. Ibid., p. 202
- 136 and 137. Khalīfah 'Abdul Ḥakīm, *Metaphysics of Rūmī*, p. 60
138. *Qur'ān*, II, 286
- 139 & 140. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 544
141. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 130
142. Ibid., p. 72
143. Ibid., p. 17
144. Ibid., p. 117
145. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 410
146. Ibid., p. 488
147. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 9
148. Ibid., p. 85
149. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 544
150. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 189
151. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 553
152. Ibid., p. 553
153. Ibid., pp. 555F
(The author of *Siyar-u'l-Auliya* has mentioned several anecdotes in this connection).
154. Ibid., pp. 561F
155. Ibid., p. 554
156. Ibid., p. 352
157. Ibid., pp. 352F
158. Ibid., pp. 354F
159. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 13

CHAPTER VIII

Distinctive features of Muslim Religious Thought in India between
1200 A.D. to 1325 A.D. and 1326 A.D. to 1450 A.D.

1. Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, Edited by Syed Aḥmad Khān, pp. 443F
2. *Ibid.*, p. 441
3. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 527F
4. Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, Edited by Syed Aḥmad Khān, p. 435
5. *Ibid.*, p. 435
6. *Ibid.*, p. 459
7. *Ibid.*, p. 465
8. *Ibid.*, p. 462
9. K. A. Nizāmī, *Studies in Medieval Indian History*, p. 72
10. Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, Edited by Syed Aḥmad Khān, p. 498
11. *Ibid.*, (For detail, see pp. 466 to 498)
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 473 to 475
13. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawī, Shāikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akh'yār*, p. 79
14. Ḍiā-u'd-dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i-Fīruz Shāhī*, p. 560
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 538 to 561
16. *Ibid.*, p. 560
17. *Ibid.*, p. 585
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 566, 652
(Baranī has given a detailed and interesting account of the *Madarasaḥ*).
19. Mr. Khalīq Ahmad Nizāmī has given in detail the names of the authors and their contributions in his book '*Studies in Medieval Indian History*', pp. 65 to 69
20. K. Nizām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*, Vol I, Edited by B. DE, pp. 241F
21. *Ibid.*, p. 242
22. *Ibid.*, p. 249
23. *Ibid.*, p. 250, 264
24. *Ibid.*, p. 265
25. *Ibid.*, p. 270
26. *Ibid.*, p. 292
27. *Ibid.*, p. 295

28. Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, *Futūḥāt-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Translated by Sh. 'Abdur Rashid, p. 21
29. Ibid., pp. 18F
30. Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, *Futūḥāt-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Translated by Sh. 'Abdur Rashid, p. 19
(Another personality, Mullā Moḥammad Joanpuri, in 15th century styled himself the 'Mehdī' and launched the Mehdavi movement).
31. Firuz Shāh Tughlaq, *Futūḥāt-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Translated by Sh. 'Abdur Rashid, p. 20
32. *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, Volme II, E-K-1927, pp. 422,423

CHAPTER IX

Shaiikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehli

1. Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā*, p. 356
2. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 283
- 3,4 & 5. 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 79
6. Ibid., p. 80
- 7,8,9 & 10. These are the musical instruments.
11. 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 80
12. Shaiikh Kamāl-u'd-dīn, the *Khalīfah* of Shaiikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn was a brilliant scholar of 'Tradition' (Ḥadīth) and 'Tafsīr'.
(K. Nizām-u'd-dīn Aḥmad, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Volme I, p. 287)
13. Shaiikh Yūsuf, another *Khalīfah* of the Shaiikh was an outstanding figure of his age. He composed a book, "*Tuḥfat-u'n-Nisaih*" which is an authentic book on *Sharī'at* and Tradition (Ibid., p. 294)
14. The third *Khalīfah* of the Shaiikh, Qādī 'Abdul Muqtadir was a famous literary man. He wrote the book, "*Munāqib-u's-Ṣiddiqīn*". (Ibid., pp. 299F)
15. Maulānā Mu'īn-u'd-dīn 'Imrānī, a favourite disciple of the Shaiikh, got a high repute in literary circles. He composed a number of books in which "*Ḥawāshī-kanz-u'l-Daqa'iq*" and '*Miftāḥ*' are very famous. (Ibid., p. 304)
16. 'Abd-u'l-Haqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaiikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 80
17. These things included:
(i) The mystic robe (ii) The rod
(iii) A rosary (iv) Wooden slippers.
(Ḥāfiẓ Ghulām Sarwar, *Khazīnat-u'l-Aṣfiyā*, p. 357).
18. We find references and stories from thirty one books. The names of these books have been given by Mr. Khalīq Aḥmad Nizāmī on

- the last page of *Khair-u'l-Majālis* which has been published from the department of History, M. U. Aligarh.
19. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 125
 20. *Qur'ān*, IV, 48
 21. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 212
 22. *Ibid.*, pp. 194F
 23. Ibn Taimiyyah, *Al-'Ubūdiat*, (Urdu translation, *Bandagī*) pp. 30F
 24. *Ibid.*, pp. 32F
 25. Ibn Taimiyyah, *Alwasīlah* (Urdu translation), p. 262
 26. B. A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 95
 27. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 195
 28. *Qur'ān*, LV, 29
 29. B.A. Fārūqī, *The Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, p. 119
 30. *Shān:-Shān* literary states condition, rather an exalted condition or state.
 31. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 197
 32. B.A. Fārūqī, *Mujaddid's conception of Tawḥīd*, pp. 95F
 33. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 197
 34. 'An inveterate anthropomorphist, Ibn Taimiyyah interpreted literally all the passages in the *Qur'ān* and tradition referring to the Deity. He was so imbued with his belief that according to Ibn-Baṭṭūta, he said one day from the pulpit in the mosque of Damascus: "God comes down from heaven to earth, just as I am coming down now" and he came down one of the steps of the pulpit stair case. (*Encyclopaedia of Islām*, pp. 422,423, Volume, II. E. K. 1927).
 35. Ibn Taimiyyah, *Al-Wasīlah*, Urdu translation, p. 262
 36. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 238
 37. *Qur'ān*, XXII, 74
 38. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 67
 - 39 & 40. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 276
 41. *Ibid.*, p. 152
 42. *Qur'ān*, XXIX, 69
 43. *Ibid.*, XXII, 78
 44. *Ibid.*, XXIX, 6
 45. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 69
 46. *Ibid.*, p. 77
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 138
 48. *Ibid.*, pp. 234F
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 288

50. Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, Shaikh, 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif, Urdu translation. p. 49
51. Ibid., p. 62
52. Sālik literary means a traveller. In the ṣūfī terminology a sālik is called a mystic.
53. Mutadārik, name of a metre.
54. Majdhūb:—It is from jadh (to draw, to pull). One whom God has drawn to Himself.
55. Shaikh :—A Shaikh, in the technical language of the day meant a ṣūfī or mystic who as a leading member of the order was entitled to enrol disciples. So generally it indicates mystics of eminence.
56. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, Khair-u'l-Majālis, pp. 47F
57. Qur'ān, XXXIII, 72
58. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, Khair-u'l-Majālis, p. 276
59. Ibid., p. 270
60. Qur'ān, III, 31
61. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, Khair-u'l-Majālis, p. 27
62. Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, Shaikh, 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif, Urdu translation, p. 58
63. Ibn Taimīyyah, Al-'Ubūdiyyat, Urdu translation, Bandagī, pp. 9F
64. Qur'ān LI, 56
65. Ibn Taimīyyah, Al-'Ubūdiyyat, Urdu translation, Bandagī, p. 86
66. Ibid., p. 107
67. Maulānā Ḥamīd-Qalandar, Khair-u'l-Majālis, pp. 27F
68. Ibid., p. 229
69. Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, Shaikh, 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif, (Urdu translation), p. 185
70. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn uses the word 'Marfū'ul Qalam' for sālik. It means that sālik becomes so pious and dutiful that no sin can be committed by him. And when sālik does not commit any sin, he is above the sin. (Khair-u'l-Majālis, p. 26)
71. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, Khair-u'l-Majālis, pp. 25F
72. Shihāb-u'd-dīn Suhrwardī, Shaikh, 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif, (Urdu translation), p. 92
73. Ibn Taimīyyah, Al-'Ubūdiyyat, Urdu translation, Bandagī, pp. 37-39
Ibn Taimīyyah, Majdhūb (Urdu translation) pp. 5F
74. Ibn Taimīyyah, Al-'Ubūdiyyat, Urdu translation, Bandagī, p. 124
75. Ibid., p. 125
76. Ibid., pp. 125-128
77. Ibid., p. 129

78. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 239
79. Ibid., p. 229
80. *Qur'ān*, V, 23
81. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 82
82. Ibid., pp. 23,57
83. *Qur'ān*, LVII, 23
84. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 82F
85. Ibid., p. 158
Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-'Ubūdiyyat*, Urdu translation, *Bandagī*, p. 120
- 86 & 87. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 239
Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-Wasīlat-u'l-Kubrā*, (Urdu translation), pp. 42-44
88. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 239
89. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-Wasīlat-u'l-Kubrā*. (Urdu Translation), p. 45
90. *Shihāb-u'd-dīn* Suhrwardī, *Shaikh*, 'Awārif-u'l-Ma'ārif, (Urdu translation), p. 346
91. Affifī, *The mystical philosophy of Moḥy-u'd-dīn Ibn-'Arabī*, p. 154
92. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-'Ubūdiyyat*, Urdu translation, *Bandagī*, p. 24
93. *Qur'ān*, LXIV, 11
- 94 & 95. Ibid., LVII, 22,23
96. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-'Ubūdiyyat*, Urdu translation, *Bandagī*, p. 26
97. Ibid., p. 34
98. Ibid., pp. 23,26
Qur'ān, XXIII, 26
99. *Qur'ān*, VI, 149
100. Ibid., XXXVI, 46
101. Ibid., XLIII, 20
102. Maulānā Ḥamīd-Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 15F
103. In *siddhi* the counted breathings have been inhaled and exhaled.
104. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 57-60
105. Ibid., p. 135
106. *Qur'ān*, LIII, 39
107. *Qur'ān*, III, 191
108. Maulānā Ḥamīd-Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 122
109. Ibid., pp. 249F
110. *Qur'ān*, III, 37
111. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Ziyārat-u'l-Qubūr*, Urdu translation, p. 45
Ibn Taimīyyah, *Al-wasīlah*, Urdu translation, p. 128
112. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, pp. 13,50,76,110, 201,267
113. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Aḥḥāb-i-Ṣuffah*, Urdu translation, p. 56
114. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 40

- 115 & 116. Ibn Taimīyyah, *Ziyārat-u'l-Qubūr*, Urdu translation, p. 12
 117. Ibid., p. 13
 118. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 157
 119 & 120. Ibid., p. 35
 121. Ibid., p. 232
 122. Ibid., p. 253
 123. Ibid., p. 34
 124. Ibid., pp. 78F
 (The same thing has been said by Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣafī, for details see the chapter on Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣafī, p. 31
 125. *Mubāḥ*:—It is the middle course between 'Ḥalāl' (lawful) and Ḥarām (unlawful). There are certain things the use of which is neither prohibited nor expressly recommended by the *Sharī'at*.
 126. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 246
 Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, pp. 532-534
 127. Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn's views on *Samā'* have been discussed in the beginning of this chapter, see p. 87
 128. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 215
 129. Maulānā Ḥamīd Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 157

CHAPTER X

Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī.

1. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 113
2. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 48
3. *Qur'ān*, XLV, 15
4. *Qur'ān*, XXXIX, 6
5. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 50
6. *Qur'ān*, II, 211
7. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 51
8. Ibid., p. 52
9. Ibid., pp. 265-272
10. Ibid., p. 62
11. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, Shaikh, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 113
12. We find in *Maktūbāt* of Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī the reference of the book, *Kaḥf-a'l-Mahjūb*. Like the author of *Kaḥf-a'l-Mahjūb*, Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn also has given elaborately chapters on; *مکتوب* (*Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, pp. 8-14), *طلب* (Ibid., pp. 15-17)

- اہلیت شیخ (Ibid., pp. 18-21)
 ولی (Ibid., pp. 23-33)
 اصل تصوف (Ibid., pp. 62-63)
 شرک خفی (Ibid., pp. 191-221)
 مرتبہ مرید (Ibid., pp. 150-160)
 مجاہدت و سیاست (Ibid., pp. 236-238)
 احوال مسلمانی (Ibid., 161-162)
 نیت (Ibid., p. 85)
 نماز (Ibid., p. 88)
 روزہ (Ibid., p. 90)
 زکوٰۃ (Ibid., p. 93)
 حج (Ibid., pp. 95,96)
 مبادت (Ibid., p. 100).
13. Shaikh Sharf-u'd-dīn has elaborately dealt with 'طلب طریقت' and 'ارکان طریقت'. For details, see *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, pp. 65-70
 14. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, pp. 71F
 15. Ibid., pp. 73F
 16. Ibid., pp. 88F
 17. Ibid., p. 90
 18. Ibid., pp. 92F
 19. Ibid., pp. 84-96
 20. Ibid., p. 6
 21. Ibid., p. 44
 22. Ibid., p. 44
 23. Shaikh Mu'in-u'd-dīn, Shaikh Quṭb-u'd-dīn, Shaikh Farīd-u'd-dīn, Qāḍī Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Nāgaurī, Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya and Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn, all have presented the 'conception of Personal God'.
 24. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbat-i-Ṣadī*, p. 123
 25. Ibid., p. 83
 26. Ibid., p. 125
 27. Ibid., p. 83
 28. See chapter on Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Sāfī, pp. 31-37
 29. Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 123
 30. Ibid., p. 124
 31. Ibid., p. 124
 32. Ibid., p. 124
 33. See chapter on Shaikh Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, pp. 51-79
 34. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, pp. 203-234

- 34A. *Qur'ān*, XLI, 53
35. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 123
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 227, 228
37. *Ibid.*, p. 84
38. It has been said that there are 80 thousand veils between the creature and the creator. (*Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 40)
39. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 43
40. *Ibid.*, p. 84
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 124F
- 41A. These three grades of *Tawḥīd* can be illustrated as follows :
- (i) A man believes in the presence of a rich merchant in an inn on the basis that he hears it either from his parents or from other people. This is called the تقلد مامی (imitation of the generality).
 - (ii) The other man, after hearing the news of the presence of the merchant in the inn, sees the horses and the servants there; and from these things he infers his presence. This belief is the belief of the dialecticians.
 - (iii) The third man directly knows of the presence of the merchant in the inn, and this is the *Tawḥīd* of a mystic.
42. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 6
43. 'Umar-u'd-dīn, M., *The Ethical Philosophy of Al-Ghazzālī*, pp. 225-227
44. *Qur'ān*, III, 31
45. See chapter on *Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chiragh-i-Dehli*, pp. 86-104
46. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 77
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 131-133
48. *Ibid.*, p. 135
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 134F
50. *Ibid.*, p. 137
51. *Ibid.*, p. 22
52. *Ibid.*, p. 94
53. *Ibid.*, p. 298
54. See the chapters on *Shaikh Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī, Shaikh Ḥamīd-u'd-dīn Ṣafī, Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya* and *Shaikh Naṣīr-u'd-dīn*.
55. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 227
56. *Ibid.*, p. 225
57. See chapter on *Shaikh Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya*, pp. 51-79
58. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yahyā Munairī, Shaikh, Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, pp. 50F
59. *Ibid.*, p. 51

60. And whomsoever it is *Allāh's* will to guide, He expandeth his bosom unto the Surrender, and whomsoever it is His will to send astray, He maketh his bosom close and narrow as if he were engaged in sheer ascent. Thus *Allāh* layeth ignominy upon those who believe not. (*Qur'ān*, VI, 126).
61. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī*, *Shaiḵh*, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 52
62. *Ibid.*, p. 217
63. See chapter on *Shaiḵh* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, pp. 51-79
64. See chapter on *Shaiḵh* Naṣīr-u'd-dīn Chirāgh-i-Dehli, pp. 86-104
65. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī*, *Shaiḵh*, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 210
66. See chapter on *Shaiḵh* Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, pp. 51-79
67. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī*, *Shaiḵh*, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 213
68. *Ibid.*, p. 214
69. *Ibid.*, p. 215

CHAPTER XI

Conclusion

1. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 44
2. Maulānā Ḥamīd-Qalandar, *Khair-u'l-Majālis*, p. 229
3. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī*, *Shaiḵh*, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 6
4. 'Abd-u'l-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith Dehlawi, *Shaiḵh*, *Akhbār-u'l-Akhyār*, p. 45
5. Amīr Ḥasan Sijzī, *Fawā'id-u'l-Fu'ād*, p. 211
- 6 & 7. *Ibid.*, p. 247
8. *Ibid.*, p. 119
9. Muḥammad bin Mubārak Kirmānī, Sayyid, *Siyar-u'l-Auliya*, p. 538
10. *Ibid.*, p. 569
11. *Ibid.*, p. 568
12. *Qur'ān*, XXII, 74
13. *Ibid.*, XXXIX, 67
14. *Sharf-u'd-dīn Yaḥyā Munairī*, *Shaiḵh*, *Maktūbāt-i-Ṣadī*, p. 124
15. *Qur'ān*, XVII, 85

APPENDIX

Some of the apocryphal sayings (*Malfūzāt*) of the Sufis of this period.

1. The English translation of the above text has been borrowed from the article of Prof. Ḥabīb, 'Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultanate Period'.

2. Medieval India Quarterly : Chishtī Mystics Records of the Sultana Period, pp. 15-42

SECTION 1

The Anīs-u'l-Arwāh

3. Mu'īn-u'd-dīn Chishtī, Shaikh, *Anīs-u'l-Arwāh*, pp. 1F
4 & 5. Ibid., pp. 3F
6 & 7. Ibid., p. 5
8. Ibid., pp. 15,16 & 27,28,29
9. Ibid., p. 21
10 & 11. Ibid., p. 21
12 & 13. Ibid., p. 13
14. Ibid., p. 29
15. Ibid., p. 9
16. Ibid., p. 32
17. Ibid., p. 8
18. Ibid., p. 21
19. Ibid., p. 20
20. Ibid., p. 24
21. Ibid., p. 11
22 & 23. Ibid., pp. 6F

SECTION 2

Dalīl-u'l-'Arifīn

- 24 & 25. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, Shaikh, *Dalīl-u'l-'Arifīn*, p. 13
26. Ibid., p. 24
27 & 28. Ibid., p. 39
29,30 & 31. Ibid., p. 4
32. Ibid., p. 6
33. Ibid., p. 40
34. Ibid., p. 43
35. Ibid., p. 48
36. Ibid., p. 6
37 & 38. Ibid., p. 40F
39. Ibid., p. 51
40, 41 & 42. Ibid., p. 51
43. Ibid., p. 51F
44. Ibid., p. 56
45. Ibid., p. 48
46. Ibid., p. 6F

47. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḥṭiyār Kākī, Shaiḥ, *Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 46
48 & 49. Ibid., pp. 55F

The author of *Aḥḥbār-u'l-Aḥyār* narrates all these statements in connection with Shaiḥ Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḥṭiyār Kākī.

50. Quṭb-u'd-dīn Baḥṭiyār Kākī, Shaiḥ, *Dalīl-u'l-ʿArifīn*, p. 8

SECTION 3

Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn

51. Professor Ḥabīb in his article, "Chishtī Mystics records of Sultanate Period" has conclusively proved the above said facts.
52. Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaiḥ, *Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn*, p. 9
53 & 54. Ibid., pp. 2F
55,56,57 & 58. Farīd-u'd-dīn Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaiḥ, *Fawā'id-u's-Sālikīn*, pp. 3-5
59 & 60. Ibid., p. 8
61. Ibid., p. 4
62. Ibid., p. 15
63. Ibid., p. 10
(The same definition of miracle has been given by Shaiḥ Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya. See chapter on Shaiḥ Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, pp. 51-79
64. Ibid., pp. 16F
65. Ibid., p. 26
66. Ibid., p. 29

SECTION 4

Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb

67. Professor Ḥabīb in his article, "Chishtī Mystics Records of Sultanate period", has conclusively proved the above said fact.
68 & 69. Niẓām-u'd-dīn Auliya, Shaiḥ, *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*, p. 4
70. Ibid., p. 8
71 & 72. Ibid., p. 9
73,74 & 75. Ibid., pp. 18F
76. Ibid., p. 19
77. Ibid., p. 30
78. Ibid., p. 33
79. Ibid., p. 43
80. Ibid., p. 14
81 & 82. Ibid., pp. 14F

83. Nizām-u'd-dīn Auliya, Shaikh, *Rāḥat-u'l-Qulūb*, p. 27
84 & 85. Ibid., pp. 22-24
86. Ibid., pp. 25-27
87 & 88. Ibid., pp. 44F
89. Ibid., p. 46
90. Ibid., p. 47
91. Ibid., p. 48
92. Ibid., p. 32
93. Ibid., p. 40
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